CICERO

THE VERRINE ORATIONS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

II

AGAINST VERRES: PART TWO
BOOKS III, IV AND V

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MCMLXVII

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THE VERRINE ORATIONS

II

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First printed 1935
Reprinted 1953, 1960, 1967

Printed in Great Britain

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THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE IN C. VERREM LIBER TERTIUS

1 I. Omnes qui alterum, iudices, nullis impulsi inimicitiis, nulla privatim laesi iniuria, nullo praemio adducti in iudicium rei publicae causa vocant providere debent non solum quid oneris in praesentia tollant, sed quantum in omnem vitam negotii suscipere conentur. Legem enim sibi ipsi dicunt innocentiae continentiae virtutumque omnium qui ab altero rationem vitae reposcunt, atque eo magis si id, ut ante dixi, faciunt nulla re commoti alia nisi utilitate
2 communi. Nam qui sibi hoc sumpsit, ut corrigat mores aliorum ac peccata reprehendat, quis huic ignoscat si qua in re ipse ab religione officii declinarit? Quapropter hoc etiam magis ab omnibus eius modi civis laudandus ac diligendus est, quod non solum ab re publica civem improbum removet, verum etiam se ipsum eius modi fore profitetur ac praestat ut sibi non modo communi voluntate virtutis atque officii, sed etiam vi quadam magis necessaria recte sit
3 honesteque vivendum. Itaque hoc, iudices, ex homine clarissimo atque eloquentissimo, L. Crasso, saepe auditum est, cum se nullius rei tam paenitere

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES: BOOK III

I. All prosecutors who are neither instigated by 1
personal enmity, nor suffering under private injury, nor stimulated by the hope of reward, all whose motive is simply patriotism, must consider, gentlemen, not merely the heavy burden they are shouldering for the time being, but the grave responsibility they are seeking to take upon themselves for life. To call another man to account for his conduct is to impose upon ourselves the necessity of integrity, of self-restraint, of all the virtues, especially if, as I have said, our action is due to no motive other than the
public advantage. For when a man has deliberately 2
set out to criticize the character and censure the misdeeds of other men, what mercy can he look for if at any point he turns aside from the path of his bounden duty? Because of this, the applause and esteem of the public, due in any case to the patriot who relieves his country of a rascal, are yet more due to him for the assurance and guarantee he gives them that his own life will, and must be, upright and honourable, since for him the general disposition towards virtue and duty is reinforced by a yet more compelling
necessity. That, gentlemen, is why the famous 3
orator Lucius Crassus was often heard to say that he

diceret quam quod C. Carbonem umquam in iudicium vocavisset; minus enim liberas omnium rerum voluntates habebat, et vitam suam pluribus quam vellet observari oculis arbitrabatur. Atque ille his praesidiis ingenii fortunaeque munitus tamen hac cura continebatur, quam sibi nondum confirmato consilio sed ineunte aetate susceperat. Minus enim[1] perspicitur eorum virtus et integritas qui ad hanc rem adulescentuli quam qui iam firmata aetate descendunt. Illi enim, ante quam potuerunt existimare quanto liberior vita sit eorum qui neminem accusarint, gloriae causa atque ostentationis accusant: nos qui iam et quid facere et quantulum iudicare possemus ostendimus, nisi facile cupiditates nostras teneremus, numquam ipsimet nobis praeciderenus istam licentiam libertatemque vivendi.

4 II. Atque ego hoc plus oneris habeo quam qui ceteros accusarunt—si onus est id appellandum quod cum laetitia feras ac voluptate, verum tamen ego hoc amplius suscepi quam ceteri—quod ita postulatur ab hominibus, ut ab iis se abstineant maxime vitiis in quibus alterum reprehenderint. Furem aliquem aut rapacem accusaris, vitanda tibi semper erit omnis avaritiae suspicio. Maleficum quempiam adduxeris aut crudelem, cavendum erit semper ne qua in re asperior aut inhumanior fuisse videare. Corruptorem, adulterum, providendum diligenter ne quod

[1] minus enim *is my conjecture*: quo minus etiam *MSS.*: atque eo magis quo minus etiam *Peterson*: quamquam minus etiam ***most editors. See my note, page*** 280.

regretted nothing so much as his ever having prosecuted Caius Carbo. In every way he was thenceforward less free to do what he would; and he felt with regret that his career was being watched by too many critical eyes. And Crassus was a man protected by the advantages of his genius and his fortune; yet he felt himself hampered by this consideration, because he had committed himself to it not as a man of mature judgement but in early youth. For there is less assurance of the virtue and integrity of those who enter these lists in extreme youth than of those who do so when they are of maturer years. Those young men prosecute, to win fame and show off their powers, while as yet unable to understand the greater freedom of life enjoyed by those who have never prosecuted: we older men, having already shown the extent of both our powers and our understandings, must hold our passions under comfortable control, or we should never be deliberately depriving ourselves of this freedom to conduct our lives as we choose.

II. And indeed it is this which makes my own 4
burden heavier than that of any other prosecutor—or if "burden" is not the right name for a load carried with satisfaction and pleasure, it is this, let me say, which makes my undertaking more extensive than those of others—that the world does thus require men to keep especially clear of the vices for which they have denounced other men. You have prosecuted someone for theft or robbery? then you must for ever avoid all suspicion of covetousness. You have charged someone with inhumanity and cruelty? then you must for ever take care not to give the impression of having been, in any matter, harsh or inconsiderate. Or with seduction or adultery? then

in vita vestigium libidinis appareat. Omnia postremo quae vindicaris in altero, tibi ipsi vehementer fugienda sunt. Etenim non modo accusator sed ne obiurgator quidem ferendus est is qui, quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipse reprehenditur. Ego in uno homine omnia vitia quae possunt in homine perdito nefarioque esse reprehendo; nullum esse dico indicium libidinis, sceleris, audaciae, quod non in istius unius vita perspicere possitis. Ergo in isto reo legem hanc mihi, iudices, statuo, vivendum ita esse ut isti non modo factis dictisque omnibus, sed etiam oris oculorumque illa contumacia ac superbia quam videtis, dissimillimus esse ac semper fuisse videar. Patior, non moleste fero, iudices, eam vitam quae mihi sua sponte antea iucunda fuerit nunc iam mea lege et condicione necessariam quoque futuram.

6 III. Et in hoc homine saepe a me quaeris, Hortensi, quibus inimicitiis aut qua iniuria adductus ad accusandum descenderim? Mitto iam rationem officii mei necessitudinisque Siculorum, de ipsis tibi inimicitiis respondeo. An tu maiores ullas inimicitias putas esse quam contrarias hominum sententias ac dissimilitudines studiorum ac voluntatum? Fidem sanctissimam

see to it carefully that your life reveal no trace of licentiousness. Everything, in fact, for which you have brought others to justice, you must yourself shun with all your might. For assuredly not only prosecution but even abuse is intolerable from one who denounces another man for offences that may be denounced in himself. Now I am denouncing a single man for all the offences of which an abandoned scoundrel can be guilty; I assert that in this one man's life you may discern all the possible signs of licentious and unscrupulous wickedness. And it follows, gentlemen, that in prosecuting him I am imposing upon myself the need for a life that shall be felt neither to have now, nor ever to have had, any feature that may in the least resemble either any of this man's deeds or words, or even the surly and contemptuous expression which, as you see, his face now wears. To this, gentlemen, I submit; nor am I ill contented that the behaviour which hitherto I have adopted freely because it pleased me should, through the law I now impose upon myself, henceforth become not merely pleasant but compulsory.

III. But can you, Hortensius, continue to ask me, 6
the man being what he is, what feelings of private enmity, what personal wrong, can have led me to undertake his prosecution? I will not, for the moment, take account of the obligation imposed upon me by my close connexion with the people of Sicily; I will give you a direct answer in this matter of private enmity. Why, think you that any enmity between human beings can be more bitter than such as arises from the conflict of their ideals, from the diversity of their aims and purposes? Can one who holds loyalty

in vita qui putat, potest ei non inimicus esse qui quaestor consulem suum consiliis commissis, pecunia tradita, rebus omnibus creditis spoliare, relinquere, prodere, oppugnare ausus sit? Pudorem ac pudicitiam qui colit, potest animo aequo istius cotidiana adulteria, meretriciam disciplinam, domesticum lenocinium videre? Qui religiones deorum immortalium retinere vult, ei qui fana spoliarit omnia, qui ex tensarum orbitis praedari sit ausus, inimicus non esse qui potest? Qui iure aequo omnes putat esse oportere, is tibi non infestissimus sit, cum cogitet varietatem libidinemque decretorum tuorum? Qui sociorum iniuriis provinciarumque incommodis doleat, is in te non expilatione Asiae, vexatione Pamphyliae, squalore et lacrimis Siciliae concitetur? Qui civium Romanorum iura ac libertatem sanctam apud omnes haberi velit, is non tibi plus etiam quam inimicus esse debeat, cum tua verbera, cum secures, cum cruces ad
7 civium Romanorum supplicia fixas recordetur? An si qua in re contra rem meam decrevisset aliquid iniuria, iure ei me inimicum esse arbitrarere: cum omnia contra omnium bonorum rem, causam, rationem, utilitatem voluntatemque fecerit, quaeris cur ei sim inimicus cui populus Romanus infestus est? qui praesertim plus etiam quam pars virilis postulat

the most sacred thing in life help hating a man who, being as quaestor admitted to his consul's secrets, given the charge of his money, trusted in every way, then did not scruple to rob and desert him, to betray him and fight against him? Can one who reverences modesty and chastity contemplate with indifference that man's daily adulteries, his school of mistresses and his household of panders? When one who seeks to maintain the sanctions of religion meets this universal plunderer of sanctuaries, this shameless maker of profit at the expense even of the wheels of the sacred coaches, how can he fail to hate him? Shall one who believes in equal justice for all not be your bitter enemy, Verres, when he thinks of your judicial pronouncements, shifted to suit your wanton pleasure? Shall one who deplores our allies' wrongs and our provinces' misfortunes feel no resentment towards you for stripping Asia, and making havoc of Pamphylia, and plunging Sicily into tears and mourning? Shall one who would have the rights and liberties of Roman citizens held sacred everywhere not inevitably be your enemy, and more than your enemy, when he remembers how you dealt with Roman citizens, scourging them, beheading them, setting up crosses
to crucify them? Why, had the man by some 7
decision of his in some respect wronged me in my private purse, you would allow, Hortensius, that I was justified in hating him: his whole career has wronged the purses and attacked the principles, damaged the interests and outraged the feelings, of every honest man—and then do you ask why I should hate this man who is loathed by the Roman nation? I, of all men, who must be ready to serve the nation's will by undertaking even heavier tasks

pro voluntate populi Romani oneris ac muneris suscipere debeam.

IV. Quid? illa quae leviora videntur esse non cuiusvis animum possunt movere, quod ad tuam ipsius amicitiam ceterorumque hominum magnorum atque nobilium faciliorem aditum istius habet nequitia et audacia quam cuiusquam nostrum virtus et integritas? Odistis hominum novorum industriam, despicitis eorum frugalitatem, pudorem contemnitis, ingenium vero et virtutem depressam extinctamque cupitis:
8 Verrem amatis! Ita credo; si non virtute, non industria, non innocentia, non pudore, non pudicitia, at sermone, at litteris, at humanitate eius delectamini. Nihil eorum est, contraque sunt omnia cum summo dedecore ac turpitudine tum singulari stultitia atque inhumanitate oblita. Huic homini si cuius domus patet, utrum ea patere an hiare ac poscere aliquid videtur? Hunc vestri ianitores, hunc cubicularii diligunt; hunc liberti vestri, hunc servi ancillaeque amant; hic cum venit extra ordinem vocatur; hic solus introducitur, ceteri saepe frugalissimi homines excluduntur. Ex quo intellegi potest eos vobis esse carissimos qui ita vixerint ut sine vestro
9 praesidio salvi esse non possint. Quid? hoc cuiquam ferendum putas esse, nos ita vivere in pecunia tenui

and even greater services than those which it is every man's duty to perform.

IV. Nay, there are facts that seem less grave, and yet are enough to excite any man's resentment against him. There is the fact that your friendship, Hortensius, and the friendship of all men of rank and birth, is more freely available for this unprincipled rogue than for any of us honest and honourable men. When men have risen from the ranks, you resent their industry, you scorn their honesty, you laugh at their sense of decency, you seek to thwart and suppress their abilities and their virtues, and you are
devoted to—Verres! Ah well, he may lack virtue 8
and industry and integrity, the sense of honour and the sense of decency; but no doubt you enjoy his conversation, his culture, his good taste? He has no such quality; on the contrary, his whole conduct is defiled not more by extreme indecency and vileness than by exceptional stupidity and coarseness. When anyone opens his house to such a man, is it opened, think you? does it not open itself, is it not a mouth seeking food? This is the man who enjoys the favour of your hall-porters and footmen; this is the man who gains the devotion of your freedmen and manservants and maidservants; it is he whom they bid come in before his turn, he who alone is admitted to your presence, while the rest of us, good honest men, are often denied admission. Whence we may conclude that your most valued friends are men whose lives have been such that without your
protection they cannot escape disaster. And then 9
again, do you suppose that anyone can find it tolerable that while we honest men, slender as our means are, have no wish to add one penny to our wealth,

ut prorsus nihil acquirere velimus, ut dignitatem nostram populique Romani beneficia non copiis sed virtute tueamur, istum rebus omnibus undique ereptis impune eludentem circumfluere atque abundare? huius argento dominia vestra, huius signis et tabulis forum comitiumque ornari, praesertim cum vos vestro Marte his rebus omnibus abundetis? Verrem esse qui vestras villas suis manubiis ornet? Verrem esse qui cum L. Mummio certet, ut plures hic sociorum urbes quam ille hostium spoliasse videatur, plures hic villas ornamentis fanorum quam ille fana spoliis hostium ornasse? Et is erit ob eam rem vobis carior ut ceteri libentius suo periculo vestris cupiditatibus serviant?

10 V. Verum haec et dicentur alio loco et dicta sunt; nunc proficiscemur ad reliqua, si pauca ante fuerimus a vobis, iudices, deprecati. Superiore omni oratione perattentos vestros animos habuimus. Id fuit nobis gratum admodum; sed multo erit gratius si reliqua voletis attendere, propterea quod in iis omnibus quae antea dicta sunt erat quaedam ex ipsa varietate ac novitate rerum et criminum delectatio, nunc tractare causam instituimus frumentariam, quae magnitudine iniuriae et re criminibus ceteris antecellet, iucundi-

but make our merit, and not our money, the means whereby we maintain our dignity and justify the favours conferred upon us by the Roman nation, this indiscriminate robber should escape all punishment and enjoy a luxurious superfluity of everything? that from him comes silver to adorn the banquets of you and your friends, and statues and pictures to adorn the forum and place of assembly, in spite of the abundance of all such things with which your own campaigns have enriched you? that Verres should be the man who equips *your* country-houses with *his* spoils? that Verres should be outdoing Lucius Mummius, that we should find him plundering more cities of our allies than Mummius plundered cities of our enemies, and decorating more country-houses with ornaments taken from temples than Mummius decorated temples with spoils taken from our enemies? And shall your devotion to him be stimulated by the prospect of thus inducing other men the more readily to risk their own destruction in order to minister to your greedy passions?

V. However, I have spoken of this already, and will return to it on another occasion; I will now go on to deal with the rest of my charges. But first, gentlemen, let me in a few words ask a favour of you. In all the earlier part of my speech I have enjoyed your close attention, to my very great satisfaction; but my satisfaction will be greater still if you kindly continue to give me that attention. For whereas in all that has hitherto been said the very variety and novelty of the facts and charges have yielded you some entertainment, I now proceed to deal with the agricultural part of my case; and though this is in substance, in the extent of the wrongs committed, 10

tatis in agendo et varietatis minus habebit. Vestra autem auctoritate et prudentia dignissimum est, iudices, in audiendi diligentia non minus religioni
11 tribuere quam voluptati. In hac causa frumentaria cognoscenda haec vobis proponite, iudices, vos de rebus fortunisque Siculorum omnium, de civium Romanorum qui arant in Sicilia bonis, de vectigalibus a maioribus traditis, de victu vitaque populi Romani cognituros. Quae si magna atque adeo maxima vobis videbuntur, quam varie et quam copiose dicantur expectare nolite.

Neminem vestrum praeterit, iudices, omnem utilitatem opportunitatemque provinciae Siciliae, quae ad commoda populi Romani adiuncta sit, consistere in re frumentaria maxime; nam ceteris rebus adiuvamur ex illa provincia, hac vero alimur ac sustinemur.
12 Ea causa tripertita, iudices, erit in accusatione; primum enim de decumano, deinde de empto dicemus frumento, postremo de aestimato.

VI. Inter Siciliam ceterasque provincias, iudices, in agrorum vectigalium ratione hoc interest, quod ceteris aut impositum vectigal est certum, quod stipendiarium dicitur, ut Hispanis et plerisque Poenorum quasi victoriae praemium ac poena belli, aut censoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiae lege Sempronia: Siciliae civitates sic in amicitiam fidem-

the most important part of the whole prosecution, the exposition of it will be less diversified and less attractive. But it is eminently fitting that the attention of men so responsible and so competent as yourselves should be secured by considerations of solemn duty rather than of pleasure. Keep before 11
you, gentlemen, the fact that when you investigate the agricultural part of this case you will be investigating the position and welfare of the whole Sicilian people, the property of those Roman citizens who are farmers in Sicily, the revenues we have inherited from our forefathers, the sources of the food and subsistence of the Roman nation. If you take these matters to be of great, nay, of supreme importance, do not be anxious lest my handling of them should lack richness and variety.

You must all be aware, gentlemen, that so far as the interests of the Roman nation are concerned, the general utility and advantage of our province of Sicily is mainly derived from the corn which it sends us; its other contributions are useful to us, but this one is the food we live on. This section of the prosecution will fall into three parts. I shall deal first 12
with corn tithe, then with corn purchase, and finally with corn commutation.

VI. Let me remind this Court of the differences in the system of land taxation between Sicily and our other provinces. In the others, either a fixed tax has been imposed, which is called a "tribute," as for example that imposed on the Spaniards and most of the Carthaginians, which may be considered as the reward of victory and penalty of defeat; or else the taxation system is regulated by censors' contracts, as in Asia under the Sempronian Law. But to the

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que accepimus ut eodem iure essent quo fuissent,
eadem condicione populo Romano parerent qua suis
13 ante paruissent. Perpaucae Siciliae civitates sunt
bello a maioribus nostris subactae; quarum ager cum
esset publicus populi Romani factus, tamen illis est
redditus; is ager a censoribus locari solet. Foedera-
tae civitates duae sunt, quarum decumae venire
non soleant, Mamertina et Tauromenitana, quinque
praeterea sine foedere immunes civitates ac liberae,
Centuripina, Halaesina, Segestana, Halicyensis, Pan-
hormitana; praeterea omnis ager Siciliae civitatum
decumanus est, itemque ante imperium populi
Romani ipsorum Siculorum voluntate et institutis fuit.
14 Videte nunc maiorum sapientiam, qui cum Siciliam
tam opportunum subsidium belli atque pacis ad rem
publicam adiunxissent, tanta cura Siculos tueri ac
retinere voluerunt ut non modo eorum agris vectigal
novum nullum imponerent, sed ne legem quidem
venditionis decumarum neve vendundi aut tempus
aut locum commutarent, ut certo tempore anni, ut
ibidem in Sicilia, denique ut lege Hieronica venderent.
Voluerunt eos in suis rebus ipsos interesse, eorumque
animos non modo lege nova sed ne nomine quidem
15 legis novo commoveri. Itaque decumas lege Hiero-

Sicilian city-states we granted conditions of trust and
friendship by which their old rights were maintained,
and their position as subjects of Rome remained the
same as it had been under their own rulers. A very 13
few of them our ancestors subdued by force of arms;
though the territory of these few thus became the
property of the Roman state, it was restored to their
possession, and this land is regularly subject to
censors' contracts. Two cities, that of the Mamer-
tines and Tauromenium, have special treaties of
alliance, and no contracts are made for collecting
tithes from them; five others, though not allies by
treaty, are free states exempt from taxation, namely,
Centuripa, Halaesus, Segesta, Halicyae, Panhormus.
With these exceptions, all the lands of the Sicilian
cities are subject to payment of tithe, and were so,
under regulations voluntarily made by their own
inhabitants, before the days of Roman sovereignty.
I would draw your attention to the wise action of our 14
forefathers in this matter. Having secured to our
country, by the acquisition of Sicily, a valuable source
of strength in peace and war, they were so earnestly
resolute to secure and maintain the loyalty of its
people, that they refrained not only from imposing
any new tax upon Sicilian land, but even from alter-
ing either the conditions of the sale of the right to
collect the tithe or the time and place of such sale, so
that the Sicilians should continue to sell these rights
at a fixed time of year, locally in Sicily, and, finally,
as provided by the laws of Hiero. They resolved
that the Sicilians should manage their own affairs
themselves, and should not be irritated either by new
laws or even by the old laws under new names. And 15
so they decided that the collection of tithe should

nica semper vendundas censuerunt, ut iis iucundior esset muneris illius functio, si eius regis qui Siculis carissimus fuit non solum instituta commutato imperio verum etiam nomen maneret. Hoc iure ante Verrem praetorem Siculi semper usi sunt; hic primus instituta omnium, consuetudinem a maioribus traditam, condicionem amicitiae, ius societatis convellere et commutare ausus est.

16 VII. Qua in re primum illud reprehendo et accuso, cur in re tam vetere, tam usitata quicquam novi feceris. Ingenio aliquid assecutus es? tot homines sapientissimos et clarissimos, qui illam provinciam ante te tenuerunt, prudentia consilioque vicisti? Est tuum, est ingenii diligentiaeque tuae; do hoc tibi et concedo. Scio te Romae, cum praetor esses, edicto tuo possessiones hereditatum a liberis ad alienos, a primis heredibus ad secundos, a legibus ad libidinem tuam transtulisse; scio te edicta superiorum omnium correxisse et possessiones hereditatum non secundum eos qui proferrent sed secundum eos qui dicerent testamentum factum dedisse; easque res novas abs te prolatas et inventas magno tibi quaestui fuisse scio; eundemque te memini censorias quoque leges in sartis tectis exigendis tollere et commutare, ne is

always be sold as provided by the laws of Hiero, desiring to make the discharge of this duty less irksome to the Sicilians by preserving to them, under their new sovereigns, not only the institutions but the name of the most popular of their kings. They enjoyed these rights uninterruptedly, until Verres became praetor; he was the first man who dared to uproot and transform an order of things established everywhere, a usage inherited from their fathers, their constitutional privilege and right as the friends and the allies of Rome.

VII. Now herein, Verres, my first step as prosecutor is to demand why you made any sort of change in a system so long and so regularly maintained. Did your powerful brain detect some fault in it? Were your understanding and your judgement superior to those of all the able and distinguished men who governed the province before you? That is what we should expect from you, from a mind so profound and active as yours—thus much I am willing to allow you. I am aware that, when you were praetor in Rome, your edict put strangers in possession of estates instead of the dead man's children, reversionary heirs instead of original heirs, your own sweet will instead of statute law. I am aware that you corrected a fault in the edicts of all your predecessors, and granted possession of estates not to men who produced wills in support of their claim but to men who merely said that such wills existed. These innovations which you devised and set going did, I am also aware, prove highly profitable to yourself. I remember that it was you too who also changed or annulled the censors' regulations that govern contracts for the upkeep of public buildings, refusing the right of contract to the person most con- 16

redimeret cuia res esset, ne pupillo tutores propinquique consulerent quo minus fortunis omnibus everteretur; exiguam diem praefinire operi, qua ceteros ab negotio excluderes, ipse in tuo redemptore nullam
17 certam diem observares. Quam ob rem novam legem te in decumis statuisse non miror, hominem in edictis praetoriis, in censoriis legibus tam prudentem, tam exercitatum; non, inquam, miror te aliquid excogitasse; sed quod tua sponte iniussu populi sine senatus auctoritate iura provinciae Siciliae mutaveris, id reprehendo, id accuso.

18 L. Octavio et C. Cottae consulibus senatus permisit ut vini et olei decumas et frugum minutarum, quas ante quaestores in Sicilia vendere consuessent, Romae venderent, legemque his rebus quam ipsis videretur dicerent. Cum locatio fieret, publicani postularunt quasdem res ut ad legem adderent neque tamen a ceteris censoriis legibus recederent. Contra dixit is qui casu tum Romae fuit, tuus hospes, Verres, hospes, inquam, et familiaris tuus, Sthenius hic Thermitanus. Consules causam cognorunt; cum viros primarios atque amplissimos civitatis multos in consilium advocassent, de consilii sententia pronuntiarunt se lege

[a] 75 B.C.

cerned, forbidding the guardians and relatives of a minor to take steps to save him from being stripped of all he possessed; you who cut down the time allowed for completing a contract, in order to debar everyone else from undertaking it, while not holding your own contractor to any fixed period at all. I am 17
consequently not surprised that you should have devised a new law for corn-tithes, after showing so much judgement, and gaining so much experience, with praetors' edicts and censors' regulations: I am not surprised, I repeat, at your working out some such idea. The charge that I do as prosecutor bring against you is that you tampered with the rights of the Sicilian province on your own responsibility, without orders from the people of this country or the authority of the Senate.

During the consulship[a] of Lucius Octavius and 18
Gaius Cotta, the Senate did authorize the sale at Rome, hitherto always conducted in Sicily by the quaestors, of the right to collect tithes of wine, oil and minor crops, and made for this business such regulations as it thought fit. When notice of sale was given, the tax-farmers asked the Senate to make certain additions to these regulations; all of them, be it noted, in accordance with the regulations made by the censors for our other provinces. This request was opposed by a man who happened to be in Rome at the time—a man who was your host, Verres; your host, I repeat, and your familiar acquaintance—Sthenius of Thermae, now here present. The consuls held an inquiry; and after consulting the most eminent and important men in Rome, they declared that in accordance with these men's advice they would have the sale conducted in accordance with the law of Hiero.

19 Hieronica vendituros. VIII. Itane vero? Prudentissimi viri, summa auctoritate praediti, quibus senatus legum dicendarum in locandis vectigalibus omnem potestatem permiserat populusque Romanus idem iusserat, Siculo uno recusante cum amplificatione vectigalium nomen Hieronicae legis mutare noluerunt: tu, homo minimi consilii, nullius auctoritatis, iniussu populi ac senatus, tota Sicilia recusante, cum maximo detrimento atque adeo exitio vectigalium totam Hieronicam legem sustulisti?

20 At quam legem corrigit, iudices, atque adeo tollit! Acutissime ac diligentissime scriptam, quae lex omnibus custodiis subiectum aratorem decumano tradidit, ut neque in segetibus neque in areis neque in horreis neque in amovendo neque in asportando frumento grano uno posset arator sine maxima poena fraudare decumanum. Scripta lex ita diligenter est ut eum scripsisse appareat qui alia vectigalia non haberet, ita acute ut Siculum, ita severe ut tyrannum; qua lege Siculis tamen arare expediret; nam ita diligenter constituta sunt iura decumano ut tamen ab invito aratore plus decuma non posset auferri.

21 Cum haec essent ita constituta, Verres tot annis atque adeo saeculis tot inventus est qui haec non

VIII. Here is a contrast indeed! These men of ripe judgement, whose opinions all must respect, to whom the Senate had given, and the Roman People confirmed, full authority to make regulations for the sale of these tax-collecting rights—these men, because a single Sicilian protested, refused to change, even nominally, the law of Hiero, though to do so meant increased returns from taxation. And yet you, who are a man of no judgement, whose opinions no one respects, have without any authorization by Senate or People abolished the law of Hiero completely, immensely lessening, if not altogether ending, the productiveness of the taxes, and this in the face of protests from the whole of Sicily. 19

And I bid you note, gentlemen, the character of the law with which he tampers, which in fact he wholly abolishes: note the ability and care with which it was framed. It subjected the farmer to all possible safeguards, and gave the tax-collector such power over him that, whether the corn were in the field, or on the floor, or in the barn, or being taken to the coast, or being exported, he could not, without incurring the heaviest penalties, defraud the collector of a single grain. The carefulness of this law's provisions shows that its author had no other resources of taxation; their shrewdness shows him a Sicilian, their severity an autocrat. None the less, it would be in the interests of the Sicilian farmer; for carefully as the rights of the tithe-collector are secured by it, the farmer cannot be forced to hand over more than the amount of the tithe. 20

And now after all these years, nay, centuries, behold, Verres has arisen, not merely to interfere with these admirable arrangements, but to overthrow 21

commutaret sed everteret, eaque quae iam diu ad salutem sociorum utilitatemque rei publicae composita comparataque essent ad suos improbissimos quaestus converteret; qui primum certos instituerit nomine decumanos, re vera ministros ac satellites cupiditatum suarum, per quos ostendam sic provinciam per triennium vexatam atque vastatam, iudices, ut eam multis annis multorum innocentia sapientiaque recreare nequeamus.

22 IX. Eorum omnium qui decumani vocabantur princeps erat Q. ille Apronius, quem videtis; de cuius improbitate singulari gravissimarum legationum querimonias audivistis. Aspicite, iudices, vultum hominis et aspectum, et ex ea contumacia quam hic in perditis rebus retinet illos eius spiritus Sicilienses quos fuisse putetis recordamini. Hic est Apronius quem in provincia tota Verres, cum undique nequissimos homines conquisisset, et cum ipse secum sui similes duxisset non parum multos, nequitia, luxuria, audacia sui simillimum iudicavit; itaque istos inter se perbrevi tempore non res, non ratio, non commendatio aliqua, sed studiorum turpitudo similitudoque coniun-
23 xit. Verris mores improbos impurosque nostis; fingite vobis aliquem, si potestis, qui in omnibus isti rebus par ad omnium flagitiorum nefarias libidines esse possit; is erit Apronius ille, qui, ut ipse non solum

them, to take these measures, framed and devised of old to secure the existence of our allies and the advantage of our country, and pervert them to a source of dishonest gain for himself. [In the first place, he appointed certain special persons to be nominally tithe-collectors but really the servants and ministers of his own greedy passions, by whose agency, as I will show you, gentlemen, the province has for three years been so thoroughly ravaged and devastated that not even after many years and a succession of honest and able governors shall we be able to repair the damage done.]

IX. Of all the persons thus entitled tithe-collectors, 22
the foremost was the notorious Quintus Apronius, now present in court. You have heard the words in which responsible deputations have denounced this man's unique rascality. Look, gentlemen, at the expression the fellow's countenance is wearing; and from the defiant boldness that it retains, now when all else is lost, picture to yourself what the fury of his nostrils must have been in those Sicilian days. This is Apronius, the man whom Verres, after scouring the whole province for scoundrels and bringing into it with him plenty who were like himself, adjudged most like himself in villainy, profligacy and reckless wickedness; with the result that in a very short time, without any business connexion, or bond of rational interest, or recommendation by other persons, the mere resemblance of their depraved aims and tastes made them bosom friends. You are aware 23
of Verres' foul and wicked character: conceive, if you can, a man who can match him in every branch of unspeakable indulgence in every kind of vileness: that man will be the famous Apronius, who proclaims

vita sed corpore atque ore significat, immensa aliqua vorago est et gurges vitiorum turpitudinumque omnium. Hunc in omnibus stupris, hunc in fanorum expilationibus, hunc in impuris conviviis principem adhibebat; tantamque habet morum similitudo coniunctionem atque concordiam ut Apronius, qui aliis inhumanus ac barbarus, isti uni commodus ac disertus videretur; ut, quem omnes odissent neque videre vellent, sine eo iste esse non posset; ut, cum alii ne conviviis quidem isdem quibus Apronius, hic isdem etiam poculis uteretur; postremo ut odor Apronii taeterrimus oris et corporis, quem, ut aiunt, ne bestiae quidem ferre possent, uni isti suavis et iucundus videretur. Ille erat in tribunali proximus, in cubiculo solus, in convivio dominus, ac tum maxime cum accubante praetextato praetoris filio saltare in convivio nudus coeperat.

24 X. Hunc, uti dicere institui, principem Verres ad fortunas aratorum vexandas diripiendasque esse voluit; huius audaciae, nequitiae, crudelitati fidelissimos socios optimosque cives scitote hoc praetore traditos, iudices, atque addictos fuisse novis institutis et edictis, tota Hieronica lege, quem ad modum antea dixi, reiecta et repudiata.

25 Primum edictum audite, iudices, praeclarum: Quantum decumanus edidisset aratorem sibi decumae

himself by his life, nay, by his very shape and countenance, a vast devouring human morass, replete with all manner of villainies and abominations. It is he who was Verres' right-hand man in his debaucheries, in his sacrilegious robberies, in his filthy carouses: and to such sympathy and affection does similarity of character give rise that Apronius, whom all others regarded as an uncouth savage, appeared to Verres an agreeable and cultivated person. Everyone else loathed him and shunned the sight of him: Verres could not live without him. Others could not drink in the same room with him: Verres would drink out of the same cup with him, and the disgusting smell of the man's breath and body, which we are told not even animals could endure, to him, and to him alone, seemed sweet and pleasant. Apronius sat next his chair of office, shared the privacy of his chamber, and was the master spirit of his festive gatherings—notably when, with the governor's young son present, he proceeded to dance stark naked before the company.

X. Such is the man whom Verres, as I was about 24 to tell you, chose for his right-hand man in this business of plundering and ruining the farming class. Such is the man to whose impudent depravity and cruelty, as you are to learn, gentlemen, our loyal allies and worthy fellow-citizens were assigned and delivered during the praetorship of Verres, in virtue of his new ordinances and edicts, by which, as I have already stated, the entire law of Hiero was thrust aside and repudiated.

Let us look, gentlemen, at the first of these re- 25 markable edicts. It ordered that whatever amount of corn the collector might declare due to him from

dare oportere, ut tantum arator decumano dare cogeretur. Quo modo? Quantum poposcerit Apronius dato. Quid est hoc? utrum praetoris institutum in socios an in hostes victos insani edictum atque imperium tyranni? Ego tantum dem quantum ille poposcerit? poscet omne quantum exaravero. Quid omne? plus immo etiam, inquit, si volet. Quid tum? quid censes? Aut dabis aut contra edictum fecisse damnabere. Per deos immortales,
26 quid est hoc? veri enim simile non est. Sic mihi
persuadeo, iudices, tametsi omnia in istum hominem convenire putetis, tamen hoc vobis falsum videri. Ego enim, cum hoc tota Sicilia diceret, tamen affirmare non auderem, si haec edicta non ex ipsius tabulis totidem verbis recitare possem, sicuti faciam. Da, quaeso, scribae, recitet ex codice professionem. Recita. EDICTUM DE PROFESSIONE. Negat me recitare totum; nam id significare nutu videtur. Quid praetereo? an illud ubi caves tamen Siculis et miseros respicis aratores? Dicis enim te in decumanum, si plus abstulerit quam debitum sit, in octuplum iudicium daturum. Nihil mihi placet praetermitti; recita hoc quoque quod postulat totum. Recita. EDICTUM DE IUDICIO IN OCTUPLUM. Iudicio ut arator decumanum persequatur? Miserum atque iniquum! Ex agro homines traducis in forum, ab

the farmer, that amount the farmer should be forced to hand over to the collector. In other words, he must hand over as much as Apronius asks for. What are we to call this? A regulation made by a Roman magistrate for our allies, or a despotic decree made by a tyrannical madman for conquered enemies? Am I to hand over just as much as he asks for? He will ask for my whole harvest. For my whole harvest, do I say? For more still, it appears, if he likes. And what then? Why, what do you suppose? either you will hand it over, or you will be found guilty of disobeying the edict. In God's name, what can this
mean? It is incredible. You may think nothing too 26
bad to be true of this man Verres; but I feel sure that this thing, at least, you cannot believe. Though all Sicily should declare it true, I myself would not dare to assert it unless I could quote the edict word for word from his own records, as I will.—Kindly hand this to the clerk, and ask him to read aloud from the volume the passage about the returns to be made.—Read it, please.—*The passage is read aloud.*—He says I am not reading all of it—this appears to be what he means by shaking his head.—Well, what am I leaving out? Is it the bit where you do after all safeguard the Sicilians and take thought for these hapless farmers? You there state that if a collector takes more than his due, you will allow him to be sued for eight times the amount.—I would not have anything passed over; read us also all the passage he asks for. Now, please.—*The clause about permission to sue for eight times the amount is read.*—Permission for a farmer to sue a collector? What a miserable piece of injustice! You drag the poor fellow from his farm to the city, from his plough to a plaintiff's bench, from

aratro ad subsellia, ab usu rerum rusticarum ad
27 insolitam litem atque iudicium? XI. Cum omnibus in aliis vectigalibus, Asiae, Macedoniae, Hispaniae, Galliae, Africae, Sardiniae, ipsius Italiae quae vectigalia sunt, cum in his, inquam, rebus omnibus publicanus petitor ac pignerator, non ereptor neque possessor soleat esse, tu de optimo, de iustissimo, de honestissimo genere hominum, hoc est de aratoribus, ea iura constituebas quae omnibus aliis essent contraria? Utrum est aequius, decumanum petere an aratorem repetere? iudicium integra re an perdita fieri? eum qui manu quaesierit, an eum qui digito licitus sit, possidere? Quid? qui singulis iugis arant, qui ab opere ipsi non recedunt, quo in numero magnus ante te praetorem numerus ac magna multitudo Siculorum fuit, quid facient, cum dederint Apronio quod poposcerit? relinquent arationes, relinquent Larem familiarem suum? venient Syracusas, ut te praetore videlicet aequo iure Apronium, delicias ac vitam tuam, iudicio recuperatorio persequantur?
28 Verum esto; reperietur aliqui fortis et experiens arator, qui, cum tantum dederit decumano quantum ille deberi dixerit, iudicio repetat et poenam octupli persequatur: expecto vim edicti, severitatem prae-

[a] The word *pignerator*, not found elsewhere, is of uncertain meaning. The above rendering suits the argument of the passage: the plaintiff has to pay a deposit as a guarantee that he believes his claim just. For a different interpretation see Long's note on the passage, p. 309.

the familiar life of the countryside to the strange world of the law-courts. XI. In taxation cases 27
everywhere else, in Asia, Macedonia, Spain, Gaul, Africa, Sardinia, in the tax-paying districts of Italy itself—in all these, I say, the tax-gatherer regularly sues and pays his deposit[a]; he cannot seize and occupy the defendant's property: would *you* take one of the most worthy, honest and respectable sections of society, the farming class, and give men rights over them that are the direct opposite of what holds good everywhere else in the world? Which way lies justice, in the collector's having to claim corn, or in the farmer's having to claim it back? in deciding the case before, or after, the corn has passed out of the owner's hands? Who should be in possession meanwhile, the man whose hands have toiled to produce it, or the man whose finger has been raised to bid for it? Look you now, what of the farmers who have but a single yoke of oxen, and toil unceasingly with their own hands,—and to this class, before you became governor, a great number and a large proportion of the Sicilians belonged,—what shall such men do when they have handed over to Apronius all he demanded? Shall they desert their fields and homes? shall they make for Syracuse, to sue your heart's delight Apronius before the doubtless impartial Court of Claims over which your worship presides? Well, suppose it so: some farmers, let 28
us say, will be found with enough boldness, and enough experience, after handing over to the collector as much as the collector declares is due to him, to sue the collector and claim eightfold restitution. We shall look to see the edict enforced and the magistrate do strict justice: we are for the farmer,

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toris ; faveo aratori, cupio octupli damnari Apronium. Quid tandem postulat arator ? Nihil nisi ex edicto iudicium in octuplum. Quid Apronius ? Non recusat. Quid praetor ? Iubet recuperatores reicere. " Decurias scribamus." " Quas decurias ? De cohorte mea reicies," inquit. " Quid ? ista cohors quorum hominum est ? " " Volusii haruspicis et Cornelii medici et horum canum quos tribunal meum vides lambere ; " nam de conventu nullum umquam iudicem nec recuperatorem dedit ; iniquos decumanis esse aiebat omnes qui ullam agri glebam possiderent. Veniendum erat ad eos contra Apronium qui nondum Aproniani convivii crapulam exhalassent. XII. O praeclarum et commemorandum iudicium ! o severum edictum ! o tutum perfugium aratorum !

29 Atque ut intellegatis cuius modi ista iudicia in octuplum, cuius modi istius de cohorte recuperatores existimati sint, sic attendite. Ecquem decumanum putatis, hac licentia permissa ut tantum ab aratore quantum poposcisset auferret, plus quam deberetur poposcisse ? Considerate cum vestris animis vosmet ipsi ecquem putetis, praesertim cum id non solum avaritia sed etiam imprudentia accidere potuerit. Multos necesse est. At ego omnes dico plus, ac multo plus, quam decumam abstulisse. Cedo mihi

[a] The plaintiff expects to be allowed to challenge certain names from a list of Sicilians out of whom the praetor will, he assumes, select the members of the court : which is what the praetor ought to do.

and hope Apronius will be sentenced to make eightfold restitution. What precisely is the farmer's petition ? simply the right to sue for eightfold restitution as the edict directs. Apronius ? quite willing. The governor ? he orders the selection of a court. " May I have the names of the panel ? " [a] " Panel ? " says Verres ; " your court shall be chosen from my own staff." " Oh, and who are the members of your staff ? " " Why, Volusius my diviner, and Cornelius my medico, and those hounds you see licking the steps of my seat of judgement." In fact, he never appointed a judge, or a member of a Court of Claims, from among the inhabitants of the districts ; he used to assert that everyone who owned a foot of land was prejudiced against the tithe-collectors. So claimants had to bring their cases against Apronius before men still heavy with the fumes of what they had drunk at his last party. XII. What a distinguished and memorable court ! how strictly it administered the law, and what an ark of refuge it was for the farmers !

And if you would know what was thought of those 29
hearings of claims for eightfold restitution, and of the members of those Courts chosen from Verres' staff, let me tell you something. Would you expect to find that a collector, being thus freely authorized to take from the farmers as much corn as he might demand, now and then demanded more than his due ? Ask yourselves whether you would or would not expect this, remembering that it might have happened through inadvertence as well as greed. It was bound to happen repeatedly. I assure you, indeed, that every one of them carried off more, and a great deal more, than his ten per cent.—Very well : name me one of them, during your three years of office,

unum ex triennio praeturae tuae qui octupli damnatus
sit. Damnatus? immo vero, in quem iudicium ex
edicto tuo postulatum sit. Nemo erat videlicet
aratorum qui iniuriam sibi factam queri posset, nemo
decumanorum qui grano amplius quam sibi deberetur
deberi professus esset. Immo vero contra rapiebat
et asportabat quantum a quoque volebat Apronius,
omnibus autem locis aratores spoliati ac vexati quere-
bantur; neque tamen ullum iudicium reperietur.
30 Quid est hoc? tot viri fortes, honesti, gratiosi, tot
Siculi, tot equites Romani, ab homine nequissimo ac
turpissimo laesi poenam octupli sine ulla dubitatione
commissam non persequebantur? Quae causa, quae
ratio est? Una illa, iudices, quam videtis, quod
ultro etiam illusos se et irrisos ab iudicio discessuros
videbant. Etenim quod esset iudicium, cum ex
Verris turpissimo flagitiosissimoque comitatu tres
recuperatorum nomine assedissent asseculae istius,
non a patre ei traditi, sed a meretricula commen-
31 dati? Ageret videlicet causam arator; nihil sibi
frumenti ab Apronio relictum, bona sua etiam
direpta, se pulsatum verberatumque diceret: con-
ferrent viri boni capita, de comissatione loqueren-

who was sentenced to make eightfold restitution.
Sentenced, do I say? name me one against whom a
claimant sought to proceed under the terms of your
edict. It would appear that none of the farmers
could complain of illegal treatment; that none of
the collectors claimed a grain more than was really
due to them. So far from that, Apronius used to
seize and carry away as much corn as he chose from
everyone, and all over the country there were
farmers declaring that he had robbed and plundered
them; and in spite of that, it will be found that
no actions were brought against him. Now what 30
does this mean? why did all these fine, honourable,
influential men,—all these Sicilians, all these Roman
knights—after being thus injured by this dirty
scoundrel, why did they not seek to exact the eight-
fold penalty that without question had been in-
curred? Why was it? what was their reason? They
had one reason,—and you, gentleman, see what it
was. It was that they knew they would lose, and
would come away from the hearing mocked and
insulted into the bargain. For indeed, what manner
of hearing would it have been that a trio of these
so-called Judges of Claims sat down to conduct,
satellites of Verres taken from his filthy and vicious
following, men not even passed on to him by his
father, but recommended to him by his wretched
mistress? The farmer would have been pleading his 31
case, of course, relating how Apronius had left him
no corn at all, how his belongings had been plundered
as well, how he himself had been cudgelled and
beaten. Those worthy gentlemen would have been
putting their heads together, talking about some
drunken revel, or about the chance of getting hold

tur inter se ac de mulierculis, si quas a praetore abeuntes possent deprehendere; res agi videretur. Surrexisset Apronius, nova dignitas publicani, non ut decumanus squaloris plenus ac pulveris, sed unguentis oblitus, vino vigiliisque languidus; omnia primo motu ac spiritu suo vini, unguenti, corporis odore complesset. Dixisset haec quae vulgo dicere solebat, non se decumas emisse, sed bona fortunasque aratorum; non se decumanum esse Apronium, sed Verrem alterum dominum illorum ac tyrannum. Quae cum dixisset, illi optimi viri de cohorte istius recuperatores non de absolvendo Apronio deliberarent, sed quaererent ecquo modo petitorem ipsum Apronio condemnare possent.

32 XIII. Hanc tu licentiam diripiendorum aratorum cum decumanis, hoc est cum Apronio permisisses, ut quantum vellet posceret, quantum poposcisset auferret, hoc tibi defensionis ad iudicium tuum comparabas, habuisse te edictum recuperatores in octuplum daturum? Si mehercules ex omni copia conventus Syracusani, splendidissimorum honestissimorumque hominum, faceres potestatem aratori non modo reiciendi sed etiam sumendi recuperatores, tamen hoc novum genus iniuriae ferre nemo posset, te, cum tuos omnes fructus publicano tradidisses et rem de manibus

of some loose girl or other on her way back from the governor's quarters, while apparently attending to business. Then up would have got Apronius, a fine new fashion in tax-gatherers, not shabby and dusty as you would expect a collector to be, but plastered with perfumes, and flabby with drink and late hours. His first movement, the first breath he uttered, would have filled the place with the smell of wine and perfume and the man's own body. He would have said what he usually did say everywhere—that he had not bought the tithe rights, but the farmers' property and fortunes: that he was not Apronius the tithe-collector, but a second Verres, the farmers' lord and master. And when he had finished, the excellent gentlemen selected from Verres' staff to form the Court would not have proceeded to discuss letting Apronius off, but would have tried to see if they could somehow find the claimant himself guilty of something alleged against him by Apronius.

XIII. When you had thus given the collectors— 32
in other words, given Apronius—this full liberty to plunder the farmers by demanding as much as he chose and taking as much as he demanded, was *this* all the defence you were laying up for yourself against the day of your trial—the statement in your edict that you would allow the hearing of claims for eightfold restitution? Upon my word, even had you drawn upon the full company of those eminent and highly respected persons who were on the roll of the Syracusan district, and allowed the farmer not merely to challenge but to choose those who should hear his claim, there would have been no bearing the injustice of this unheard-of procedure, by which a man must first deliver over all his harvest to the tax-gatherer

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amisisses, tum bona tua repetere ac persequi lite
33 atque iudicio. Cum vero verbo iudicium sit in edicto, re quidem vera tuorum comitum, hominum nequissimorum, collusio cum decumanis, sociis tuis atque adeo procuratoribus, tamen audes ullius mentionem iudicii facere? praesertim cum id non modo oratione mea sed etiam re ipsa refellatur, quod in tantis incommodis aratorum iniuriisque decumanorum nullum ex isto praeclaro edicto non modo factum sed ne postulatum quidem iudicium invenitur.

34 Erit tamen in aratores lenior quam videtur. Nam qui in decumanos octupli iudicium se daturum edixit, idem habuit in edicto se in aratorem in quadruplum daturum. Quis hunc audet dicere aratoribus infestum aut inimicum fuisse? quanto lenior est quam in publicanum! Edixit ut, quod decumanus edidisset sibi dari oportere, id ab aratore magistratus Siculus exigeret. Quid reliqui est iudicii quod in aratorem dari possit? "Non malum est," inquit, "esse istam formidinem, ut, cum exactum sit ab aratore, tamen ne se commoveat reliquus metus iudicii sit." Si iudicio vis a me exigere, remove Siculum magistratum; si hanc vim adhibes, quid opus est iudicio?

[a] This word is to indicate that the irony of the previous sentences is dropped at this point: a change in the tone of voice would show this in the spoken Latin.

and see his property pass out of his control, and then claim back what is his own and bring an action in court for its recovery. And seeing that what is 33
nominally described in your edict as a hearing of claims was in reality a farce performed by the entirely worthless members of your retinue in collusion with your allies (or rather your agents) the tithe-collectors, do you dare, in the face of that, to make any reference to your hearing claims? especially as any such defence is refuted not merely by my arguments but by the plain facts: for with all the wrongs endured by the farmers and inflicted by the collectors, we find that no single hearing, such as your precious edict allowed, was ever held or even applied for.

Still, we shall find him treating the farmers less 34
severely than might appear. For whereas his edict undertook to allow collectors to be sued for eight times the amount wrongly exacted, it also allowed farmers to be sued for no more than four times the amount wrongly withheld. Who now will dare to allege that he was hostile or unfriendly to the farmers? How much more severe he is towards the tax-gatherers! Well,[a] his edict required the local official to force the farmer to deliver the amount that the collector declared to be due to him: what possible room is there for allowing any other legal proceedings against the farmer? "Oh," thinks Verres, "no harm in the farmer's having this threat hanging over him, so that, when his corn has been got from him, the fear of further proceedings may keep him quiet."—Will you use the law-courts to get my corn from me? then keep the local official out of the business. Do you prefer this latter form of compulsion? then what room is there for the law-courts? And besides,

Quis porro erit quin malit decumanis tuis dare quod poposcerint quam ab asseculis tuis quadruplo condemnari?

35 XIV. Illa vero praeclara est clausula edicti, quod omnium controversiarum quae essent inter aratorem et decumanum, si uter velit, edicit se recuperatores daturum. Primum quae potest esse controversia, cum is qui petere debet aufert, et cum is non quantum debetur sed quantum commodum est aufert, ille autem unde ablatum est iudicio suum recuperare nullo modo potest? Deinde in hoc homo luteus etiam callidus ac veterator esse vult, quod ita scribit, SI UTER VOLET, RECUPERATORES DABO. Quam lepide se furari putat! Utrique facit potestatem, sed utrum ita scripserit, "si uter volet," an "si decumanus volet," nihil interest; arator enim tuos istos recuperatores numquam volet.

36 Quid? illa cuius modi sunt quae ex tempore ab Apronio admonitus edixit? Q. Septicio, honestissimo equite Romano, resistente Apronio et affirmante se plus decuma non daturum, exoritur peculiare edictum repentinum, ne quis frumentum de area tolleret ante quam cum decumano pactus esset. Ferebat hanc quoque iniquitatem Septicius et imbri frumentum corrumpi in area patiebatur, cum illud edictum repente uberrimum et quaestuosissimum

anyone would rather give your collectors all they demand than be condemned by your satellites to hand over four times as much.

XIV. Then again there is the admirable clause in your edict providing that any dispute between a farmer and a tithe-collector shall, at the request of either party, come before a court appointed by yourself. To begin with, I ask what dispute can possibly arise between parties one of whom, instead of claiming his corn, simply takes it, and takes not the amount due to him but the amount that suits his pleasure, while the other has no chance of recovering his own by suing the man who has taken it. Note, further, this fool's pretensions to skill and experience, when he uses the words "shall at the request of either party come before a court appointed by myself." What an ingenious thief he thinks himself! He empowers both of them to apply to him; but it matters nothing whether his words are "at the request of either party" or "at the request of the collector," for no request to be heard by those courts of yours will ever be made by a farmer. 35

Next let us look at the emergency edict that he produced at the instigation of Apronius. A Roman knight of high standing, named Quintus Septicius, stood up to Apronius, and declared that he would give him no more than the due tithe: whereupon there suddenly appeared a special edict, forbidding any farmer to remove his grain from the threshing-floor until he had come to terms with the collector. Submitting even to this piece of iniquity, Septicius was leaving the corn on his floor to go rotten in the rain, when behold, without warning, the birth of another edict destined to bring in a rich harvest; 36

nascitur, ut ante Kalendas Sextiles omnes decumas
37 ad aquam deportatas haberent. Hoc edicto non Siculi, nam eos quidem superioribus edictis satis perdiderat atque afflixerat, sed isti ipsi equites Romani qui suum ius retinere se contra Apronium posse erant arbitrati, splendidi homines et aliis praetoribus gratiosi, vincti Apronio traditi sunt. Attendite enim cuius modi edicta sint. NE TOLLAT, inquit, EX AREA, NISI ERIT PACTUS. Satis haec magna vis est ad inique paciscendum; malo enim plus dare quam non mature ex area tollere. At ista vis Septicium et non nullos Septicii similes non coërcet, qui ita dicunt, "Non tollam potius quam paciscar." His hoc opponitur, "Deportatum habeas ante Kalendas Sextiles." Deportabo igitur. "Nisi pactus eris, non commovebis." Sic deportandi dies praestituta tollere cogebat ex area: prohibitio tollendi nisi pactus esset vim adhibebat pactioni, non voluntatem.

38 XV. Iam vero illud non solum contra legem Hieronicam nec solum contra consuetudinem superiorum, sed etiam contra omnia iura Siculorum quae habent a senatu populoque Romano, ne quis extra suum forum vadimonium promittere cogatur. Statuit iste ut arator decumano quo vellet decumanus vadimonium promitteret, ut hic quoque Apronio, cum ex Leontino

[a] Literally "promise security": *i.e.* undertake to appear in court, and give some sort of material guarantee—a deposit, or bail—that the undertaking will be fulfilled.

requiring all tithes to be delivered at the seaports by
the first of August. The result of this edict was not 37
so much to bring ruin and disaster to the Sicilians—the man's previous edicts had seen well enough to that—as to hand over tied and bound to Apronius even those Roman knights who had supposed themselves able to maintain their rights against him, men of high rank whom other governors had treated with every consideration. Do but observe what these two edicts mean. "Shall not remove," says the first, "grain from the floor unless he has come to terms. . . ." Enough by itself to force the acceptance of unfair terms: one would rather hand over too much than leave one's corn too long on the floor. Ah, but you find this of no avail against Septicius and some others like him, who say, "Rather than accept such terms, I will let my corn lie." Such men are met with the order, "Deliver your corn before the first of August." Very good: then I will. "No, unless you have come to terms, you shall not move it." You see? the fixing of a date for delivery compelled the removal of corn from the floor; and the prohibition of that removal until the farmer had come to terms with the collector meant that those terms were not accepted freely but forced upon him.

XV. And then for a thing that violates not only 38
the code of Hiero, not only the usage of previous governors, but all the rights which the Sicilians enjoy as the gift of the Roman senate and people, whereby no man may be required to appear [a] in a court beyond the limits of his own district. Verres ordained that a farmer must appear in court wherever the collector might choose, so that Apronius might summon a man to go for this purpose all the way from Leontini to

usque ad Lilybaeum aliquem vadaretur, ex miseris aratoribus calumniandi quaestus accederet.

Quamquam illa fuit ad calumniam singulari consilio reperta ratio, quod edixerat ut aratores iugera sationum suarum profiterentur. Quae res cum ad pactiones iniquissimas magnam vim habuit, sicut ostendam, neque ad ullam utilitatem rei publicae pertinuit, tum vero ad calumnias, in quas omnes inci-
39 derent quos vellet Apronius. Ut enim quisque contra voluntatem eius dixerat, ita in eum iudicium de professione iugerum postulabatur, cuius iudicii metu magnus a multis frumenti numerus ablatus magnaeque pecuniae coactae sunt; non quo iugerum numerum vere profiteri esset difficile aut amplius etiam profiteri (quid enim in eo periculi posset esse?), sed causa erat iudicii postulandi quod ex edicto professus non esset. Iudicium autem quod fuerit isto praetore, si quae cohors et qui comitatus fuerit meministis, scire debetis.

Quid igitur est quod ex hac iniquitate novorum edictorum intellegi velim, iudices? Iniuriamne factam sociis? At videtis. Auctoritatem superiorum
40 repudiatam? Non audebit negare. XVI. Apronium tantum isto praetore potuisse? Confiteatur

[a] However groundless the claim or charge, the victim, to avoid a long and costly journey, would pay Apronius to withdraw the summons against him.

Lilybaeum, and thus make a further profit out of the unhappy farmers by bringing false actions against them.[a]

However, for making profit out of false actions there was another especially ingenious method devised, the regulation that farmers should make returns of their acreage of land under crop. This, as I will explain, was highly effective for compelling unjust settlements with the collectors, and tended in no way to the public advantage; but besides that, it was effective in involving all whom Apronius chose to involve in these false actions. No sooner did a man 39
express opposition to his wishes than a summons was applied for against him on the charge of making an untrue return of acreage: and fear of prosecution on this charge led to large quantities of corn being carried off, and large sums of money extorted, from a great many people. Not that there was any difficulty about returning the acreage as what it was or even as more than it was; that was of course safe enough. No, but the charge alleged in the application for the summons was that the regulation had been disobeyed and no return made at all. You cannot but be aware of what sort of hearing such charges would get when Verres was praetor, if you bear in mind the character of his staff and personal following.

Now, gentlemen, what is the point that I wish made clear regarding the result of these iniquitous new regulations? The wrong done to our allies? you see that for yourselves. The man's repudiation of the authority of his predecessors' opinions? This
he will not dare to deny. XVI. The vast power, 40
during his governorship, enjoyed by Apronius? He cannot help admitting this. But it may be that in this

necesse est. Sed vos fortasse, quod vos lex commonet, id in hoc loco quaeretis, num quas ex hisce rebus pecunias ceperit. Docebo cepisse maximas, omnesque eas iniquitates de quibus antea dixi sui quaestus causa constituisse vincam, si prius illud propugnaculum quo contra omnes meos impetus usurum se putat ex defensione eius deiecero.

"Magno," inquit, "decumas vendidi." Quid ais? an tu decumas, homo audacissime atque amentissime, vendidisti? Tu partes eas quas te senatus populusque Romanus voluit, an fructus integros atque adeo bona fortunasque aratorum omnes vendidisti? Si palam praeco iussu tuo praedicasset non decumas frumenti sed dimidias venire partes, et ita emptores accessissent ut ad dimidias partes emendas, si pluris vendidisses tu dimidias quam ceteri decumas, cuinam mirum videretur? Quid? si praeco decumas pronuntiavit, re vera, hoc est lege, edicto, condicione, plus etiam quam dimidiae venierunt, tamen hoc tibi praeclarum putabis, te pluris quod non licebat quam ceteros quod oportebat vendidisse? Pluris decumas
41 vendidisti quam ceteri. Quibus rebus id assecutus es? innocentia? Aspice aedem Castoris; deinde, si audes, fac mentionem innocentiae. Diligentia? Codicis lituras tui contemplare in Sthenii Thermitani nomine; deinde aude te dicere diligentem. Ingenio?

[a] That is, the rights of collecting these portions.
[b] See II. i. §§ 130-154. [c] See II. ii. § 101.

connexion you will ask, as the law bids you ask, whether he has made money himself out of these doings. I will prove that he has made a great deal. I will establish the fact that all the iniquities I have already referred to were devised by him for his personal profit. But first I must weaken his defence by levelling the rampart on which he counts for protection against all my assaults upon him.

"I sold the tithe-rights," he tells us, "for a high price."—What, you knave, you fool? Was it tithe-rights that you sold? was it those portions [a] of the harvest which the Roman senate and people intended you to sell? or was it the complete harvest, nay, the whole property and livelihood of the farmers? If the crier had announced publicly by your orders that the sale was not of one-tenth of the corn but of one-half, and buyers had made their offers on the understanding that it was one-half they were buying, nobody would be surprised if you sold that half for a greater sum than other magistrates got for the tenth parts. Well then, if the crier announced one-tenth for sale, but in actual fact—allowing, that is, for the terms and conditions your edict offered—the sale was of still more than one-half: in the face of that will you boast of getting more for selling what you had no right to sell than all the others got for selling the proper quantity? You got more for those tithes than anyone else, did you? And how did you 41
achieve that result? By your honesty? Look yonder at the temple of Castor,[b] and then talk of your honesty if you dare. By your carefulness? Cast your eyes over the erasures [c] in that section of your records that concerns Sthenius of Thermae, and then dare to call yourself careful. By your

Qui testes interrogare priore actione nolueris et iis tacitus os tuum praebere malueris, quamvis et te et patronos tuos ingeniosos esse dicito. Qua re igitur id quod ais assecutus es? Magna est laus si superiores consilio vicisti, posterioribus exemplum atque auctoritatem reliquisti. Tibi fortasse idoneus fuit nemo quem imitarere; at te videlicet inventorem rerum optimarum ac principem imitabuntur omnes.

42 Quis arator te praetore decumam dedit? quis duas? quis non maximo se affectum beneficio putavit cum tribus decumis pro una defungeretur—praeter paucos qui propter societatem furtorum tuorum nihil omnino dederunt? Vide inter importunitatem tuam senatusque bonitatem quid intersit. Senatus cum temporibus rei publicae cogitur ut decernat ut alterae decumae exigantur, ita decernit ut pro his decumis pecunia solvatur aratoribus, ut, quod plus sumitur quam debetur, id emi non auferri putetur; tu cum tot decumas non senatus consulto, sed novis edictis tuis nefariisque institutis exigeres et eriperes, magnum te fecisse arbitrare si pluris vendideris quam L. Hortensius, pater istius Q. Hortensii, quam Cn. Pompeius, quam C. Marcellus, qui ab aequitate, ab lege, ab institutis non recesserunt?

43 An tibi unius anni aut biennii ratio fuit habenda,

ability? After declining to examine the witnesses at the first hearing, and preferring to show them your face without speaking a word, you may claim as much ability as you choose for yourself and your advocates. How then did you achieve the result you speak of? You deserve great credit if you have surpassed your predecessors in competence and left your successors a precedent for their guidance. Very likely there has been no one good enough to be a model for yourself, whereas you, as the deviser of sound methods and the chief authority for them, will be the model for us all. What farmer, during your 42 term of office, paid ten per cent of his crop? or twenty per cent? What farmer did not think himself very kindly treated if he got off with thirty per cent instead of ten—except for a few of them who, by being your accomplices in robbery, paid nothing at all? Compare your savagery with the benevolence of the Senate. When a national emergency obliges the Senate to order the exaction of an additional tithe, its decree prescribes the payment of money to the farmers for this second tithe, in order that the amount taken beyond what is due may be looked on as a purchase and not as an impost. You exacted the tithe, you tore it from them, many times over; your authority was not the Senate, but your own edicts, with their abominable regulations such as no one ever heard of before: and then do you count it a great achievement to have got a higher price than was got by Lucius Hortensius the father of Quintus your advocate, or by Gnaeus Pompeius, or by Gaius Marcellus, who made no departure from what was fair, legal and recognized custom?

Is it that you were to consider the results of one 43

salus provinciae, commoda rei frumentariae, ratio rei publicae in posteritatem fuit neglegenda? Cum rem ita constitutam accepisses ut et populo Romano satis frumenti ex Sicilia suppeditaretur et aratoribus tamen arare atque agros colere expediret, quid effecisti, quid assecutus es? Ut populo Romano nescio quid te praetore ad decumas accederet, deserendas arationes relinquendasque curasti. Successit tibi L. Metellus. Tu innocentior quam Metellus, tu laudis et honoris cupidior? Tibi enim consulatus quaerebatur, Metello paternus honos et avitus neglegebatur. Multo minoris vendidit non modo quam tu, sed etiam quam qui ante te vendiderunt. XVII. Quaero, si ipse excogitare non potuerat quem ad modum quam plurimo venderet, ne tua quidem recentia proximi praetoris vestigia persequi poterat, ut tuis praeclaris abs te principe inventis et excogitatis
44 edictis atque institutis uteretur? Ille vero tum se minime Metellum fore putavit si te ulla in re imitatus esset; qui ab urbe Roma, quod nemo umquam post hominum memoriam fecit, cum sibi in provinciam proficiscendum putaret, litteras ad Siciliae civitates miserit per quas hortatur et rogat ut arent, ut serant. In beneficio praetor hoc petit aliquanto ante adventum suum; et simul ostendit se lege Hieronica

year, or of two years, and care nothing for the preservation of Sicily, for the interests of agriculture, for the welfare of the nation in all the years to follow? You took over a system under which Rome was being adequately supplied with corn from Sicily, and under which, at the same time, the farmers could farm and cultivate their land profitably: and what did you effect, what did you achieve? To add some trifling sum to the national profits on the tithes, you brought about the abandonment and desertion of the cornlands. Your successor was Lucius Metellus. Are you an honester man than Metellus? or more eager to gain distinction and public office? It is very likely that while you were ambitious for the consulship, Metellus was indifferent to an office held by his father and grandfather before him! Well, he sold those tithes for much less than you did, for much less than even your predecessors sold them. XVII. Now if he could not think out for himself how to get the highest possible price for them, could he not even follow in the still fresh footprints of the previous governor, and make use of your edicts and regulations, so admirably thought out and discovered by you originally? But he felt that the last way to show himself a 44
Metellus would be to follow your lead in anything; and so he did what no man is known ever to have done before: when he was still in Rome, and thinking it was time for him to set forth for his province, he wrote a letter to the Sicilian communities, urging and entreating them to plough and sow their land. The governor asked this of them, as a favour, some time before his arrival there; and at the same time he informed them that he would sell the tithe-rights as directed by the code of Hiero; in fact, that so far as

venditurum, hoc est in omni ratione decumarum nihil istius simile facturum. Atque haec non cupiditate aliqua scribit inductus, ut in alienam provinciam mittat litteras ante tempus, sed consilio, ne, si tempus sationis praeterisset, granum ex provincia Sicilia
45 nullum haberemus. Cognoscite Metelli litteras. Recita. Epistula L. Metelli.

XVIII. Hae litterae, iudices, L. Metelli, quas audistis, hoc quantum est ex Sicilia frumenti hornotini exaraverunt; glebam commosset in agro decumano Siciliae nemo, si Metellus hanc epistulam non misisset. Quid? Metello divinitus hoc venit in mentem, an ab Siculis, qui Romam frequentissimi convenerant, negotiatoribusque Siciliae doctus est? quorum quanti conventus ad Marcellos, antiquissimos Siciliae patronos, quanti ad Cn. Pompeium tum consulem designatum ceterosque illius provinciae necessarios fieri soliti sint quis ignorat? quod quidem, iudices, nullo umquam de homine factum est, ut absens accusaretur ab iis palam quorum in bona liberosque summum imperium potestatemque haberet. Tanta vis erat iniuriarum ut homines quidvis perpeti quam non de istius improbitate de-
46 plorare et conqueri mallent. Quas litteras cum ad omnes civitates prope suppliciter misisset Metellus, tamen antiquum modum sationis nulla ex parte assequi potuit; diffugerant enim permulti, id quod

the whole tithe system was concerned he would not follow the lead of Verres at all. And when he did this, he was not led by any desire of personal advantage to write letters thus in advance to another man's province: it was an act of prudence; once the sowing season was past, we might not get one grain of corn from the province of Sicily. Listen, please, to his 45
letter.—Read it aloud. *The letter is read.*

XVIII. It is the letter from Metellus, gentlemen, to which you have just listened, that has grown all the corn we have had from Sicily this season. If Metellus had not sent off that letter, in all the tithe-paying areas of Sicily not one man would have turned one clod of soil. Now I ask you—did this occur to him by a miracle? or was it suggested to him by the Sicilians who had flocked to Rome in large numbers, and by merchants connected with Sicily? It is common knowledge that large deputations were constantly being sent to members of the Marcellus family, those historic patrons of Sicily, to Gnaeus Pompeius, at that time consul-designate, and to all the other friends of the province. And this, gentlemen, is a thing that has never happened to any other man—to be publicly accused, in his own absence, by men over whose property and whose families he possesses absolute command and authority. So keenly did these men feel their wrongs that they were ready to suffer anything, if they might but utter their plaintive appeal against his wickedness. And 46
though Metellus sent to every city in Sicily this letter that was almost a humble petition, even so he could nowhere succeed in getting corn sown on the old scale; for, as I will now show you, a great many of the people had gone away, deserting not their cornfields only,

ostendam, nec solum arationes sed etiam sedes suas patrias istius iniuriis exagitati reliquerant.

Non mehercules augendi criminis causa, iudices, dicam, sed, quem ipse accepi oculis animoque sensum, hunc vere apud vos et ut potero planissime exponam.
47 Nam cum quadriennio post in Siciliam venissem, sic mihi affecta visa est ut eae terrae solent in quibus bellum acerbum diuturnumque versatum est. Quos ego campos antea collesque nitidissimos viridissimosque vidissem, hos ita vastatos nunc ac desertos videbam ut ager ipse cultorem desiderare ac lugere dominum videretur. Herbitensis ager et Hennensis, Murgentinus, Assorinus, Imacharensis, Agyrinensis ita relictus erat ex maxima parte ut non solum iugorum sed etiam dominorum multitudinem quaereremus; Aetnensis vero ager, qui solebat esse cultissimus, et, quod caput est rei frumentariae, campus Leontinus, cuius antea species haec erat ut cum obsitum vidisses annonae caritatem non vererere, sic erat deformis atque horridus ut in uberrima Siciliae parte Siciliam quaereremus; labefactarat enim vehementer aratores iam superior annus, proximus vero funditus everterat.

48 XIX. Tu mihi etiam audes mentionem facere decumarum? tu in tanta improbitate, in tanta acerbitate, in tot ac tantis iniuriis, cum in arationibus et in earum rerum iure provincia Sicilia consistat, eversis funditus aratoribus, relictis agris, cum in

but the homes where they were born, hunted thence by the wrongs that Verres had done them.

I will not, believe me, gentlemen, exaggerate the facts to strengthen my case against Verres: I will put before you truthfully, and as vividly as I can, the impression my own eyes and understanding conveyed to me. When I arrived in Sicily after a four years' 47
absence, it had to my eyes the look we associate with countries that have been the seat of a cruel and protracted war. The fields and the hill-sides that I had once seen green and flourishing I now saw devastated and deserted; the countryside seemed itself to feel the loss of the men who once tilled it, and to be in mourning for its old masters. The cornlands of Herbita and Henna, of Murgentia and Assorus, of Imachara and Agyrium, were for the most part so completely abandoned that we looked in vain not only for the cattle but for the proprietors who were once so numerous: and the land round Aetna that used to be so richly cultivated, and that headquarters of corn-farming, the plain of Leontini, whose aspect formerly was such that to see it under crop removed any fears that corn would be scarce and dear—these were so wild and miserable a waste that there, in Sicily's most fertile regions, nothing reminded us of Sicily. The year before had dealt the farmers a staggering blow; this last year had ruined them altogether.

XIX. And now will you dare to tell me of your 48
sale of tithe-rights? After such dishonesty, after such cruelty, after the infliction of so many grievous wrongs; when you know that Sicily's welfare rests on her farming and the rights of her farmers; when her farmers have been utterly ruined, and her lands

provincia tam locuplete ac referta non modo rem sed ne spem quidem ullam reliquam cuiquam feceris, aliquid te populare putabis habere cum dices te pluris quam ceteros decumas vendidisse? Quasi vero aut populus Romanus hoc voluerit aut senatus tibi hoc mandaverit, ut, cum omnes aratorum fortunas decumarum nomine eriperes, in posterum fructu illo commodoque rei frumentariae populum Romanum privares, deinde, si quam partem tuae praedae ad summam decumarum addidisses, bene de re publica, bene de populo Romano meritus viderere.

Atque perinde loquor quasi in eo sit iniquitas eius reprehendenda, quod propter gloriae cupiditatem, ut aliquos summa frumenti decumani vinceret, acerbiorem legem, duriora edicta interposuerit, omnium
49 superiorum auctoritatem repudiarit. Magno tu decumas vendidisti. Quid? si doceo te non minus domum tuam avertisse quam Romam misisse decumarum nomine, quid habet populare oratio tua, cum ex provincia populi Romani aequam partem tu tibi sumpseris ac populo Romano miseris? Quid? si duabus partibus doceo te amplius frumenti abstulisse quam populo Romano misisse, tamenne putamus patronum tuum in hoc crimine cerviculam iactaturum et populo se ac coronae daturum? Haec vos antea,

deserted; when in all that rich and well-stocked province you have left no man anything to have or even to hope for: will you then conceive yourself able to gain applause by telling us that you got more than anyone else for the rights of collecting tithe? One would think that this was what the nation desired, that this was what the Senate instructed you to do, from the way in which, after tearing the farmers' whole livelihood from them under the pretext of those tithes, and robbing Rome of all her profit and advantage from the growing of corn in the years to come, you then imagine that, if you have added some portion of your plunder to the amount the tithes bring in, you have done good service to the state and to the people of Rome.

Now I am speaking as though the reason for inveighing against the man's misconduct were merely that, thirsting for the glory of having outstripped certain other governors in the total sum he secured for corn-tithe, he introduced an over-harsh law and over-severe regulations by edict, and refused to be guided by the judgement of all his predecessors.
You sold the tithe-rights for a high price, did you? 49
Well then, if I prove that you diverted into your own coffers not less than you sent under the heading of tithe-profits to Rome, how much applause is your plea likely to win for you, after your appropriating for yourself, from a province that belongs to the nation, as much as you sent home for the nation's benefit? If I further prove that you embezzled twice as much corn as you sent home for the nation, shall we even then look to see your advocate, when he handles this charge, indulge in theatrical gestures and in appeals to the fringe of spectators present?

iudices, audistis, verum fortasse ita audistis ut auctorem rumorem haberetis sermonemque hominum. Cognoscite nunc innumerabilem pecuniam frumentario nomine ereptam, ut simul illam quoque eius vocem improbam agnoscatis qui se uno quaestu decumarum omnia sua pericula redempturum esse dicebat.

50 XX. Audivimus hoc iam diu, iudices—nego quemquam vestrum esse quin saepe audierit—socios istius fuisse decumanos. Nihil aliud arbitror falso in istum esse dictum ab iis qui male de isto existimarunt, nisi hoc. Nam socii putandi sunt quos inter res communicata est: ego rem totam fortunasque omnes aratorum istius fuisse dico; Apronium Veneriosque servos, quod isto praetore fuit novum genus publicanorum, ceterosque decumanos procuratores istius
51 quaestus et administros rapinarum fuisse dico. "Quo modo hoc doces?" Quo modo ex illa locatione columnarum docui istum esse praedatum: opinor, ex eo maxime quod iniquam legem novamque dixisset. Quis enim umquam conatus est iura omnia et consuetudinem omnium commutare cum vituperatione sine quaestu? Pergam atque insequar longius. Iniqua lege vendebas quo pluris venderes. Cur addictis iam et venditis decumis, cum iam ad summam decumarum nihil, ad tuum quaestum multum posset accedere, subito atque ex tempore nova nascebantur

[a] See II. i. § 150 "nunc ne argumentemur . . ."

You, gentlemen, have already heard these facts. But you may have heard them only on the authority of rumour and popular talk. Let me now inform you of the immense sums of money seized under the heading of corn-tithe. As you listen you will appreciate the force of the scoundrel's impudent remark that his gains from tithe alone would buy him protection against all his perils.

XX. We have been told long before this—I am 50
sure, gentleman, that every one of you has been told many times—that the tithe-collectors were his partners. Now I believe this to be the only false thing said of him by the people who think ill of him. We must define "partners" as those who share in the profits; and I assert that the whole fortunes and property of the farmers went to himself, and that Apronius, and the slaves of Venus—the new class of tax-gatherers that dates from Verres' praetorship—and all the rest of the tithe-collectors, were his agents and assistants, and robbed other people to make money for himself. How do I prove this? I prove 51
this as I have proved[a] that the plunder from that contract for the temple columns went to him: and the best argument, I take it, is that his regulations violated established rights and usage. Who ever set about upsetting men's rights wholesale, and changing customs universally observed, so as to incur abuse and gain nothing? I will go further, and press this point.—You sold those tithe-rights on unjust conditions in order to sell them dearer. Why, when they were knocked down and sold already, when it was now too late to get more for them, though not too late to get much more for yourself, did those new emergency regulations suddenly spring into existence? That

edicta? Nam ut vadimonium decumano quocumque is vellet promitteretur, ut ex area, nisi pactus esset, arator ne tolleret, ut ante Kalendas Sextiles decumas deportatas haberet, haec omnia iam venditis decumis anno tertio te edixisse dico; quae si rei publicae causa faceres, in vendundo essent pronuntiata; quia tua causa faciebas, quod erat imprudentia praetermissum, id quaestu ac tempore admonitus
52 reprehendisti. Illud vero cui probari potest, te sine tuo quaestu, ac maximo quaestu, tantam tuam infamiam, tantum capitis tui fortunarumque tuarum periculum neglexisse, ut, cum totius Siciliae cotidie gemitus querimoniasque audires, cum, ut ipse dixisti, reum te fore putares, cum huiusce iudicii discrimen ab opinione tua non abhorreret, paterere tamen aratores indignissimis iniuriis vexari ac diripi? Profecto, quamquam es singulari crudelitate et audacia, tamen abs te totam alienari provinciam, tot homines honestissimos ac locupletissimos tibi inimicissimos fieri nolles, nisi hanc rationem et cogitationem salutis tuae pecuniae cupiditas ac praesens illa praeda superaret.

53 Etenim, quoniam summam ac numerum iniuriarum vobis, iudices, non possum expromere, singillatim autem de unius cuiusque incommodo dicere infinitum est, genera ipsa iniuriarum, quaeso, cognoscite.

[a] Literally, "the actual classes of his outrages": this is, however, done by giving characteristic instances of each class.

the farmer must appear in answer to the collector's summons wherever the collector chose, that he must not move his corn from the floor before settling terms with the collector, that he must have his tithes transported to the coast by the first of August—all these orders I assert that you made in your third year of office after the tithes were already sold. Had their object been the public advantage, they would have been stated openly at the time of the sale. Their object was your own advantage; and that is why, when your wits were sharpened by the opportunity for gain, you pounced upon devices that your lack of foresight had let slip before. Is anyone going to 52
believe that, unless it meant profit, and very great profit, for yourself, the vile discredit and the fearful risk to your status and fortunes troubled you so little that, though the groans and complaints of all Sicily came to your ears daily, though by your own admission you were expecting to be prosecuted, though the danger you run in this trial is no greater than you then supposed it,—that nevertheless you allowed those innocent farmers to be thus persecuted and plundered? Most assuredly, even though no man is your match in unscrupulous cruelty, you would not have set the whole province against you, you would not have had all those men of wealth and standing become your deadly enemies, had not financial greed, and the immediate prospect of loot, overpowered such rational consideration for your own safety.—

I cannot, indeed, display to you, gentlemen, the 53
full extent and number of his outrages. It would be an endless task to recount the misfortunes of each of his victims one by one. I will, therefore, by your leave, merely relate typical instances.[a]

XXI. Nympho est Centuripinus, homo gnavus et industrius, experientissimus ac diligentissimus arator. Is cum arationes magnas conductas haberet, quod homines etiam locupletes, sicut ille est, in Sicilia facere consuerunt, easque magna impensa magnoque instrumento tueretur, tanta ab isto iniquitate oppressus est ut non modo arationes relinqueret, sed etiam ex Sicilia profugeret, Romamque una cum multis ab isto eiectis veniret. Fecit ut decumanus Nymphonem negaret ex edicto illo praeclaro, quod nullam ad aliam rem nisi ad huius modi quaestus pertinebat, numerum iugerum professum esse.
54 Nympho cum se vellet aequo iudicio defendere, dat iste viros optimos recuperatores, eundem illum medicum Cornelium (is est Artemidorus Pergaeus, qui in sua patria dux isti quondam et magister ad spoliandum Dianae templum fuit) et haruspicem Volusium et Valerium praeconem. Nympho antequam plane constitit condemnatur. Quanti fortasse quaeritis. Nulla erat edicti poena certa: frumenti omnis eius quod in areis esset. Sic Apronius decumanus non decumam debitam, non frumentum remotum atque celatum, sed tritici VII milia medimnum ex Nymphonis arationibus edicti poena, non redemptionis aliquo iure tollit.
55 XXII. Xenonis Menaeni, nobilissimi hominis, uxoris fundus erat colono locatus; colonus, quod decu-

[a] Or perhaps "before the facts of the case had been plainly stated" (let alone the establishment of Nympho's guilt). Cicero tacitly admits, in any case, that Nympho had not made the prescribed return.

XXI. There is a man of Centuripa named Nympho, an active, hard-working man, a careful and experienced farmer. He had a large farm, which he held as leasehold, a common practice in Sicily even for well-to-do persons such as he is; and he had invested a large sum in equipment to keep the place going. But he was treated by Verres with such overwhelming injustice that he not only deserted his farm, but actually fled from Sicily, and came here to Rome, along with many others whose exile was due to Verres. Verres had caused a collector to state that Nympho had not made any return of the acreage he had under crop, as was required by that precious edict of his, the sole purpose of which was to secure gains of this kind for him. Nympho having declared his readiness to 54
defend his conduct before an impartial court, Verres appointed some excellent fellows to try the case: that same medico of his, Cornelius *alias* Artemidorus, who in his own town of Perga had formerly been Verres' leader and instructor in the spoliation of Diana's temple there; his diviner Volusius, and his crier Valerius. Nympho was sentenced before he had fairly taken his place in court.[a] To what penalty, you may ask. The edict fixed no penalty—and he was sentenced to pay all the corn he had on his threshing-floors. Thus did this tithe-collector Apronius carry off from Nympho's farm not the due tithe, not some portion of corn removed to a hiding-place, but 7000 good bushels of wheat, as a penalty for infringing the edict, and not by any right his contract gave him.

XXII. The wife of a well-born citizen of Menae 55
named Xeno had an estate which was let to a tenant. The tenant, unable to endure the ill-treatment he

manorum iniurias ferre non poterat, ex agro profugerat. Verres in Xenonem iudicium dabat illud suum damnatorium de iugerum professione. Xeno ad se pertinere negabat, fundum elocatum esse dicebat. Dabat iste iudicium, SI PARERET IUGERA EIUS FUNDI PLURA ESSE QUAM COLONUS ESSET PROFESSUS, tum uti Xeno damnaretur. Dicebat ille non modo se non arasse, id quod satis erat, sed nec dominum esse eius fundi nec locatorem; uxoris esse; eam ipsam suum negotium gerere, ipsam locavisse. Defendebat Xenonem homo summo splendore et summa auctoritate praeditus, M. Cossutius. Iste nihilo minus iudicium HS IↃↃ dabat. Ille tametsi recuperatores de cohorte latronum sibi parari videbat, tamen iudicium se accepturum esse dicebat. Tum iste maxima voce Veneriis imperat, ut Xeno audiret, dum res iudicetur hominem ut adservent; cum iudicata sit, ad se ut adducant; et illud simul ait, se non putare illum, si propter divitias poenam damnationis contemneret, etiam virgas contempturum. Hac ille vi et hoc metu adductus tantum decumanis dedit quantum iste imperavit.

56 XXIII. Polemarchus est Murgentinus, vir bonus atque honestus. Ei cum pro iugeribus quinquaginta medimna DCC decumae imperarentur, quod recusabat, domum ad istum in ius eductus est, et, cum iste etiam cubaret, in cubiculum introductus est, quod

[a] *i.e.* if the court should find him guilty.

[b] The Sicilian *medimnus* was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels, and the *iugerum* about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an acre: the demand was therefore even more outrageous than the English rendering would suggest.

[c] Probably a magistrate could, by law or custom, only try accused persons when sitting on his tribunal (Long).

received from the collectors, had deserted his farm. Verres authorized the prosecution of Xeno on his favourite fatal charge of not making a proper return of acreage. Xeno denied liability; the estate, he pointed out, had been let to another person. Verres directed the court to find Xeno guilty *if it shall appear that the acreage of the farm in question exceeds the area stated by the tenant.* Xeno argued not only that he had not been farming the land—which was in itself a valid defence—but that he was not the owner or the lessor of the estate in question; that it belonged to his wife; that she managed her own business, and had let the place herself. His defence was conducted by Marcus Cossutius, a man of high distinction and held in great respect. Verres none the less committed him for trial, fixing the penalty [a] at £500. Though Xeno was aware that the court to try his case was being made up from that company of bandits, he none the less agreed to accept its verdict. Thereupon Verres, speaking loudly so that Xeno should hear him, ordered his temple slaves to keep the man under arrest while the case was proceeding, and to bring him before himself as soon as it was settled; adding that Xeno might be rich enough to be indifferent to the penalty if he were found guilty, but would probably not be indifferent to a flogging as well. Intimidated by this violence, Xeno paid the collectors as much as he was ordered by Verres to pay.

XXIII. Polemarchus, a good respectable inhabitant of Murgentia, was ordered to pay a tithe of 700 bushels [b] on a farm of 50 acres. Because he refused, he was marched off to appear before Verres, in Verres' own house; [c] and as our friend was still in bed, the prisoner was brought into the bedroom, a 56

nisi mulieri et decumano patebat alii nemini. Ibi cum pugnis et calcibus concisus esset, qui DCC medimnis decidere noluisset, mille promisit.

Eubulidas est Grospus Centuripinus, homo cum virtute et nobilitate domi suae, tum etiam pecunia princeps. Huic homini, iudices, honestissimae civitatis honestissimo non modo frumenti scitote, sed etiam vitae et sanguinis tantum relictum esse quantum Apronii libido tulit; nam vi, malo, plagis adductus est ut frumenti daret non quantum deberet sed quantum cogeretur.

57 Sostratus et Numenius et Nymphodorus eiusdem civitatis cum ex agris tres fratres consortes profugissent, quod iis plus frumenti imperabatur quam quantum exararant, hominibus coactis in eorum arationes Apronius venit, omne instrumentum diripuit, familiam abduxit, pecus abegit. Postea cum ad eum Nymphodorus venisset Aetnam et oraret ut sibi sua restituerentur, hominem corripi ac suspendi iussit in oleastro quodam, quae est arbor, iudices, Aetnae in foro. Tam diu pependit in arbore socius amicusque populi Romani in sociorum urbe ac foro, colonus aratorque vester, quam diu voluntas Apronii tulit.

58 Genera iam dudum innumerabilium iniuriarum, iudices, singulis nominibus profero, infinitam multitudinem iniuriarum praetermitto. Vos ante oculos ani-

privilege otherwise extended only to collectors and women. There he was knocked about and kicked so brutally that, after refusing to settle for 700 bushels, he promised to pay 1000.

Eubulidas Grospus of Centuripa is a man whose character and birth, and also his wealth, make him the chief man in his own town. Know, then, gentlemen, that this most honoured member of an honoured community was left not merely with no more corn, but with no more life and blood in his body, than the will and pleasure of Apronius saw fit to leave him. Violence, suffering and blows induced him to pay not the amount of corn that he should have paid but the amount he was forced to pay.

In the same city there were three brothers working 57
in partnership, whose names were Sostratus, Numenius and Nymphodorus. They fled from their land because they were ordered to pay over more than the total yield of their harvest; whereupon Apronius invaded the farm with a band of followers, seized all the stuff, carried off the slaves, and drove off the live stock. Nymphodorus went later to see him at Aetna, and pleaded to have his own property restored to him. While he was doing so, Apronius ordered him to be seized and suspended from a wild olive-tree that grows in the market-place of Aetna. Gentlemen, this friend and ally of Rome, this farmer and landowner of yours, hung there from that tree, in the market-place of a town in our empire, for as long as Apronius chose to let him hang.

All this time I have been putting before you the 58
various types of the countless injustices done, by quoting one case of each, and passing over innumerable others. I ask you to see for yourselves, to

mosque vestros tota Sicilia decumanorum hos impetus, aratorum direptiones, huius importunitatem, Apronii regnum proponite. Contempsit Siculos; non duxit homines; nec ipsos ad persequendum vehementes fore, et vos eorum iniurias leviter laturos existimavit.
59 XXIV. Esto; falsam de illis habuit opinionem, malam de vobis; verum tamen, cum de Siculis male mereretur, cives Romanos coluit, iis indulsit, eorum voluntati et gratiae deditus fuit. Iste cives Romanos? At nullis inimicior aut infestior fuit. Mitto vincla, mitto carcerem, mitto verbera, mitto secures, crucem denique illam praetermitto, quam iste civibus Romanis testem humanitatis in eos ac benivolentiae suae voluit esse; mitto, inquam, haec omnia atque in aliud dicendi tempus reicio: de decumis, de civium Romanorum condicione in arationibus disputo; qui quem ad modum essent accepti, iudices, audistis ex
60 ipsis; bona sibi erepta esse dixerunt. Verum haec, quoniam eius modi causa fuit, ferenda sunt, nihil valuisse aequitatem, nihil consuetudinem; damna denique, iudices, nulla tanta sunt quae non viri fortes ac magno et libero animo affecti ferenda arbitrentur. Quid si equitibus Romanis, non obscuris neque ignotis sed honestis et illustribus, manus ab Apronio isto praetore sine ulla dubitatione afferebantur? Quid

[a] Presumably the enrichment of Verres. If we read *casus* for *causa*, translate "Still, since things happened as they did, . . ."

imagine in your own minds, how from one end of Sicily to the other there were these onslaughts from the collectors, these plunderings of the farmers; the savagery of Verres, and the tyranny of Apronius. Verres despised the Sicilians—thought of them as hardly human—believed that they themselves would show no vigour in seeking satisfaction, and that you would hear of their wrongs with little concern.
XXIV. Well, well; he had a false conception of them, 59
and an unflattering conception of you; but at least, ill as he served the Sicilians, of course he courted the Roman citizens there, was indulgent to *them*, did his best to satisfy and conciliate *them*. Did he indeed? Why, he hated them and persecuted them beyond all other men. I say nothing of the chains and prisons, of the floggings, of the executions; I pass over the crucifixion whereby he sought to express to the Roman citizens his clemency and goodwill towards them; of all these things, I repeat, I say nothing—I reserve them for another part of my speech. I am discussing corn-tithes, and the treatment of Roman citizens on their farms; and how they were handled, gentlemen, you have heard from their own lips; they
have told you how they were robbed. Still, in so 60
good a cause,[a] such things must be endured—that justice should go for nothing, and established custom for nothing; and as for material injuries, gentlemen, none are so serious that a brave man, a man of high and generous disposition, finds them unendurable. But what now if, while yonder man was governor, Roman knights—not obscure and unknown, but eminent and distinguished Roman knights—had violent hands laid upon them by Apronius without the smallest hesitation? Is that not enough for you? is

exspectatis, quid amplius a me dicendum putatis? an id agendum ut eo celerius de isto transigamus quo maturius ad Apronium possimus, id quod ego illi iam in Sicilia pollicitus sum, pervenire? qui C. Matrinium, iudices, summa virtute hominem, summa industria, summa gratia, Leontinis in publico biduum tenuit. A Q. Apronio, iudices, homine in dedecore nato, ad turpitudinem educato, ad Verris flagitia libidinesque accommodato, equitem Romanum scitote biduum cibo tectoque prohibitum, biduum Leontinis in foro custodiis Apronii retentum atque asservatum, neque ante dimissum quam ad condicionem eius depectus est.

61 XXV. Nam quid ego de Q. Lollio dicam, iudices, equite Romano spectato atque honesto? Clara res est quam dicturus sum, tota Sicilia celeberrima atque notissima. Qui cum araret in Aetnensi, cumque is ager Apronio cum ceteris agris esset traditus, equestri vetere illa auctoritate et gratia fretus affirmavit se decumanis plus quam deberet non daturum. Refertur eius sermo ad Apronium. Enim vero iste ridere, ac mirari Lollium nihil de Matrinio, nihil de ceteris rebus audisse. Mittit ad hominem Venerios. Hoc quoque attendite, apparitores a praetore assignatos habuisse decumanum, si hoc mediocre argumentum videri potest istum decumanorum nomine ad suos quaestus esse abusum. Adducitur a Veneriis atque adeo attrahitur Lollius, commodum cum Apronius e

there anything further you feel that I should say? or should we not do our best to settle the fate of Verres quickly, that we may the sooner proceed to deal with Apronius, as before I left Sicily I promised him we should? Apronius, gentlemen, seized Matrinius, the excellent, hard-working, popular Gaius Matrinius, and for two days kept him prisoner in an open spot at Leontini. Yes, gentlemen, by the orders of Quintus Apronius, the orders of a man born in shame, bred to foulness, and shaped to serve the vices and lusts of Verres, know that a Roman knight was for two days denied food and shelter, was for two days kept in custody by the guards of Apronius in the market-place at Leontini, and not let go until he had agreed to the terms that Apronius demanded.

XXV. I come now to the case of that respected and honoured Roman knight Quintus Lollius. The affair that I am about to describe is celebrated; known of, and talked of, throughout Sicily. He was a farmer in the Aetna district; and when that area was delivered like the rest into the hands of Apronius, trusting to the respect and goodwill traditionally attaching to those of his order, he declared that he would not give the collectors more than he was bound to give them. His words were reported to Apronius. Apronius laughed, of course, and wondered that Lollius had not heard about Matrinius and all the other affairs. Then he sent his temple slaves for Lollius. Note that fact too: a tithe-collector had official attendants assigned to him by the governor: I would ask if that can be held a weak piece of evidence that Verres made full use of the pretext of tithe-collection to enrich himself. Lollius was led in, or rather dragged in, by the slaves, just as Apronius had come back from 61

palaestra redisset et in triclinio quod in foro Aetnae straverat recubuisset. Statuitur Lollius in illo tem-
62 pestivo gladiatorum convivio. Non mehercle haec quae loquor crederem, iudices, tametsi vulgo audieram, nisi mecum ipse senex, cum mihi atque huic voluntati accusationis meae lacrimans gratias ageret, summa cum auctoritate esset locutus. Statuitur, ut dico, eques Romanus annos prope LXXXX natus in Apronii convivio, cum interea Apronius caput atque os suum unguento confricaret. "Quid est, Lolli?" inquit; "tu nisi malo coactus recte facere nescis?" Homo quid ageret, taceret responderet, quid faceret denique, illa aetate et auctoritate praeditus nesciebat. Apronius interea cenam ac pocula poscebat; servi autem eius, qui et moribus isdem essent quibus dominus et eodem genere ac loco nati, praeter oculos Lollii haec omnia ferebant. Ridere convivae, cachinnare ipse Apronius, nisi forte existimatis eum in vino atque ludo[1] non risisse, qui nunc in periculo atque exitio suo risum tenere non possit. Ne multa, iudices, his contumeliis scitote Q. Lollium coactum
63 ad Apronii leges condicionesque venisse. Lollius aetate et morbo impeditus ad testimonium dicendum venire non potuit. Quid opus est Lollio? Nemo hoc

[1] ludo *is Peterson's emendation*: *the best* MSS. *have* lucro: lustris *and* luxu *have also been suggested.*

the playing-fields and laid himself down by the dinner-table he had had spread for him in the market-place of Aetna. Lollius was made to stand upright before those ruffians as they began carousing at that early hour. I assure you, gentlemen, I should disbelieve 62
the truth of this story, even after hearing it everywhere, unless the old man, when thanking me with tears in his eyes for my readiness to undertake this prosecution, had told me of it himself in a way that completely convinced me. This old Roman knight of nearly ninety was made to stand, as I tell you, before this festive gathering of Apronius, who meanwhile proceeded to smear his own head and face with perfume. "What's all this, Lollius?" says he; "can't you do the proper thing unless you are punished and made to?" The poor fellow, in spite of his great age and the respect in which he was held, could not tell what line to take, whether to reply or to hold his tongue, or in fact what to do. As he stood there, Apronius was ordering in the dinner and drinks; and his slaves, men just like their masters in character, birth and antecedents, were carrying in everything past the nose of Lollius, amid the laughter of the guests and loud guffaws from Apronius himself—not much chance, you will agree, that he was not laughing while he was drinking and amusing himself, if he cannot restrain his laughter even now when he is threatened with ruin. Well, to cut the story short, gentlemen, you are to know that Quintus Lollius was constrained, by this humiliating treatment, to fall in with the terms and conditions imposed by Apronius. Age and infirmity have prevented his being able to 63
come here and give his evidence. But the evidence of Lollius is not needed. Everyone knows this story

nescit; nemo tuorum amicorum, nemo abs te productus, nemo abs te interrogatus nunc se primum diceret audire. M. Lollius, eius filius, adulescens lectissimus, praesto est; huius verba audietis. Nam Q. Lollius, eiusdem filius, qui Calidium accusavit, adulescens et bonus et fortis et in primis disertus, cum his contumeliis iniuriisque commotus in Siciliam esset profectus, in itinere occisus est. Cuius mortis causam fugitivi sustinent, re quidem vera nemo in Sicilia dubitat quin eo sit occisus quod habere clausa non potuerit sua consilia de Verre. Iste porro non dubitabat quin is, qui alium antea studio adductus accusasset, sibi advenienti praesto esset futurus, cum esset parentis iniuriis et domestico dolore commotus.

64 XXVI. Iamne intellegitis, iudices, quae pestis, quae immanitas in vestra antiquissima fidelissima proximaque provincia versata sit? iam videtis quam ob causam Sicilia, tot hominum antea furta, rapinas, iniquitates ignominiasque perpessa, hoc non potuerit novum ac singulare atque incredibile genus iniuriarum contumeliarumque perferre? Iam omnes intellegunt cur universa provincia defensorem suae salutis eum quaesiverit cuius iste fidei, diligentiae, perseverantiae nulla ratione eripi possit. Tot iudiciis interfuistis, tot homines nocentes et improbos ac-

[a] No doubt this is the case mentioned in the *Actio Prima*, § 38.
[b] Presumably from Rome.

is true. Not one of *your* friends, Verres, not one person whom *you* may produce, whom *you* may cross-examine, will allege that he now hears it for the first time. We have here Marcus, the son of Lollius, a young man of excellent character, and his testimony the Court shall hear. The other son Quintus, formerly the prosecutor of Calidius,[a] a fine upright young man of outstanding ability, was so moved by hearing of his father's wrongs and humiliations that he set off[b] for Sicily—and was killed on his way there. It is the revolted slaves who are said to be responsible for his death; but as a matter of fact no one in Sicily has any doubt that he was murdered because he could not keep his intentions regarding Verres a secret. And we may add that Verres would have no doubt that a man whose public spirit had already led him to prosecute someone else was likely to be ready to deal with himself on his return, seeing that it was a personal grievance, his own father's wrongs, that had now aroused his indignation.

XXVI. Do you now begin to perceive, gentlemen, 64
what manner of pestilential monster has been going about in the oldest, the most loyal, and the nearest to you, of all your provinces? do you now see why it is that, after enduring so many thefts and robberies, so many injuries and insults, at other hands in the past, this province has been unable to submit to wrongs and humiliations of a type so unheard-of, so unparalleled, so unbelievable as these are? It is plain to the whole world by now why the province has, as one man, looked for a champion and deliverer from whose honour, whose watchfulness, whose determination, nothing can enable Verres to escape. You have taken part in many trials; from your own experience,

cusatos et vestra et superiorum memoria scitis esse: ecquem vidistis, ecquem audistis in tantis furtis, in tam apertis, in tanta audacia, in tanta impudentia
65 esse versatum? Apronius stipatores Venerios secum habebat; ducebat eos circum civitates; publice sibi convivia parari, sterni triclinia, et in foro sterni iubebat; eo evocari homines honestissimos non solum Siculos sed etiam equites Romanos, ut, quicum vivere nemo umquam nisi turpis impurusque voluisset, ad eius convivium spectatissimi atque honestissimi viri tenerentur. Haec tu, omnium mortalium profligatissime ac perditissime, cum scires, cum audires cotidie, cum videres, si sine tuo quaestu maximo fierent, cum tanto tuo periculo fieri paterere atque concederes? Tantum apud te quaestus Apronii, tantum eius sermo inquinatissimus et blanditiae flagitiosae valuerunt, ut numquam animum tuum cura tuarum fortunarum
66 cogitatioque tangeret? Cernitis, iudices, quod et quantum incendium decumanorum impetu non solum per agros sed etiam per reliquas fortunas aratorum, neque solum per bona sed etiam per iura libertatis et civitatis isto praetore pervaserit. Videtis pendere alios ex arbore, pulsari autem alios et verberari, porro alios in publico custodiri, destitui alios in convivio,

and from the records of the past, you know how many evil men have been prosecuted for their crimes: have you ever seen, have you ever heard of anyone who had a career of such extensive and open robbery, a career so devoid of all scruple and all sense of shame? Apronius kept this bodyguard of temple slaves 65
attached to him, and led them round from one town to another. He would order dinners to be served and couches spread for him—in the market-places—at the expense of the community; and men of the highest standing would be summoned to appear there before him; not only Sicilians, but Roman knights too. No one but a dirty blackguard would ever have consented to live in the fellow's neighbourhood, and here the most estimable and respected persons were to be kept standing in front of his dinner-table.—You knew of all these things, Verres, you most abandoned of living scoundrels; knew of them, heard of them daily, saw them happening; and unless they had meant vast gains for yourself, would you have sanctioned their happening, with all the risk they meant for you? Did you value the enrichment of Apronius, did you value his filthy conversation and immoral endearments so highly that no care or consideration for your own interests ever troubled your mind?—You per- 66
ceive, gentlemen, how these collectors fell upon the farmers, and like some great consuming fire swept through their fields; and not their fields only, but all their possessions; and not their property only, but all their rights as free men and citizens—when Verres was governor of Sicily. You see some of the farmers hanging from trees; others being knocked about and flogged; others, again, held prisoners, with no roof over their heads, others left standing in the

condemnari alios a medico et praecone praetoris; bona tamen interea nihilo minus eorum omnium ex agris auferri ac diripi. Quid est hoc?[1] populi Romani imperium, praetoriae leges, iudicia in socios fideles, provincia suburbana? Nonne omnia potius eius modi quae, si Athenio rex fugitivorum vicisset, in Sicilia non fecisset? Non, inquam, iudices, esset ullam partem istius nequitiae fugitivorum insolentia consecuta.

XXVII. Privatim hoc modo: quid? publice civitates tractatae quem ad modum sunt? Audistis permulta, iudices, testimonia civitatum, et reliquarum
67 audietis. Ac primum de Agyrinensi populo fideli et illustri breviter cognoscite. Agyrinensis est in primis honesta Siciliae civitas hominum ante hunc praetorem locupletium summorumque aratorum. Eius agri decumas cum emisset idem Apronius, Agyrium venit. Qui cum apparitoribus eo cum vi ac minis[2] venisset, poscere pecuniam grandem coepit ut accepto lucro discederet; nolle se negotii quicquam habere dicebat, sed accepta pecunia velle quam primum in aliam civitatem occurrere.[3] Sunt omnes Siculi non contemnendi, si per nostros magistratus

[1] *The reading is very doubtful. O (here our best MS. authority) reads* pretor imperium p̄r leges iudicia sotios fideles provintia suburbana: *the other MSS.*, populi Romani imperium populi Romani leges fidelis provincia suburbana. *Peterson writes* populi Romani imperium? praetoriae leges, iudicia? [socios fidelis, provincia suburbana]. *Mueller, following Halm*: populi Romani imperium, populi Romani leges, iudicia in socios fidelis, provinciam suburbanan.

[2] *Peterson* eo et vi ac minis; *the Vatican MS. has* eo cum vi agminis, *but others, including p and q*, eo cum vi ac minis. Cum *before* apparitoribus *must be a preposition, and a second* cum *seems therefore essential. Martha writes* cum [apparitoribus] eo cum vi agminis—*unlikely and obscure sense.*

middle of dinner-parties, others sentenced in court by the praetor's medico and crier; and their property all the while being plundered and swept away from their farms just as much as before. What means all this? Is this the government of Rome? is this the law that a Roman governor administers? are these the law-courts that try our loyal allies? is this Sicily, our nearest province? Do we not rather find the whole treatment of Sicily such that Athenio himself would not have acted thus, if that despot chief of revolted slaves had won the day? I assure you, gentlemen, that with all their insolence those rebels would not have achieved a fraction of this scoundrel's iniquities.

XXVII. So much for his treatment of individuals: let us now ask how he treated communities. Gentlemen, you have heard of the evidence of a great many towns, and you shall hear that of the rest. Let me 67
first tell you briefly of the loyal and reputable people of Agyrium. This town is one of the most important in Sicily, and its inhabitants were, till Verres became governor, prosperous and efficient farmers. Our friend Apronius came to Agyrium as purchaser of the tithe-rights over its corn-lands. On arriving there with his attendants, full of violence and threats of violence, he proceeded to ask for a large sum of money, so that he might make his profit and depart: he did not wish to have any trouble, he said, but would like to take his money and go off as soon as he could to deal with some other town. The Sicilians are, all of them, a far from contemptible race, if

[3] primum aliam civitatem occupare *seems an equally likely reading.*

liceat, sed homines et satis fortes et plane frugi ac sobrii, et in primis haec civitas de qua loquor, iudices.
68 Itaque homini improbissimo respondent Agyrinenses sese decumas ei quem ad modum deberent daturos: lucrum, cum ille magno praesertim emisset, non additūros. Apronius certiorem facit istum cuia res erat. XXVIII. Statim, tamquam coniuratio aliqua Agyrii contra rem publicam facta aut legatus praetoris pulsatus esset, ita Agyrio magistratus et quinque primi accitu istius evocantur. Veniunt Syracusas; praesto est Apronius; ait eos ipsos qui venissent contra edictum praetoris fecisse. Quaerebant quid. Respondebat se ad recuperatores esse dicturum. Iste aequissimus homo formidinem illam suam miseris Agyrinensibus iniciebat; recuperatores se de cohorte sua daturum minabatur. Agyrinenses, viri fortissimi,
69 iudicio se passuros esse dicebant. Ingerebat iste Artemidorum Cornelium medicum et Tlepolemum Cornelium pictorem et eius modi recuperatores, quorum civis Romanus nemo erat, sed Graeci sacrilegi iam pridem improbi, repente Cornelii. Videbant Agyrinenses, quicquid ad eos recuperatores Apronius attulisset, illum perfacile probaturum; condemnari cum istius invidia infamiaque malebant quam ad eius condiciones pactionesque accedere. Quaerebant quae in verba recuperatores daret. Respondebat,

[a] They would have, therefore, to pay him a *heavy* bonus if he was to be sure of making a profit on the price he had paid.

[b] The suggestion seems not to be that they were freedmen of L. Cornelius Sulla (the Dictator), but simply that they had assumed Roman names without justification.

only our magistrates would leave them alone; they are really quite fine fellows, thoroughly honest and well-behaved; and this is notably true of the community of which I am speaking. They told the 68 villain that they would pay him the amount of tithe that was due from them; but they would not pay him a bonus as well, especially as he had paid a high price for the tithe-rights.[a] Apronius reported this to the party whose interests were concerned. XXVIII. Immediately, as though some conspiracy against the State had been occurring, or the governor's representative beaten, the magistrates and five chief citizens of Agyrium were summoned by Verres. They reached Syracuse; there Apronius was ready for them, and alleged that the actual persons who had come there had broken the governor's regulations. They asked him how: he would tell that, he replied, to the members of the court. Yonder model of equity proceeded to intimidate these unfortunate persons with his usual threat of selecting the court from his own staff. They replied stoutly that they would stand their trial. Verres thrust on them 69 Cornelius Artemidorus the medico, and Cornelius Tlepolemus the painter, and others like them, as members of the court: not one of them a Roman citizen: they were rascally Greeks who were formerly temple-robbers, and had become Cornelii suddenly.[b] The men from Agyrium saw that, before a court like this, Apronius would have no trouble in establishing any charge he might bring. They chose to be found guilty, and thus to bring odium and disgrace to Verres, rather than accept the terms and conditions their accuser demanded. They asked how he would state the charge on which they were to be

SI PARET ADVERSUS EDICTUM FECISSE; qua in re se[1] in iudicio dicturum esse aiebat. Iniquissimis verbis, improbissimis recuperatoribus conflictari malebant quam quicquam cum isto sua voluntate decidere. Summittebat iste Timarchidem qui moneret eos, si saperent, ut transigerent. Pernegabant. "Quid ergo? in singulos HS quinquagenis milibus damnari mavultis?" Malle dicebant. Tum iste clare omnibus audientibus: "Qui damnatus erit" inquit "virgis ad necem caedetur." Hic illi flentes rogare atque orare coeperunt ut suas sibi segetes fructusque omnes arationesque vacuas Apronio tradere liceret, ut ipsi sine ignominia molestiaque discederent.

70 Hac lege, iudices, decumas vendidit Verres. Dicat licet Hortensius, si volet, magno Verrem decumas vendidisse. XXIX. Haec condicio fuit isto praetore aratorum, ut secum praeclare agi arbitrarentur si vacuos agros Apronio tradere liceret; multas enim cruces propositas effugere cupiebant. Quantum Apronius edidisset deberi, tantum ex edicto dandum erat. Etiamne si plus edidisset quam quantum natum esset? Etiam, quando magistratus ex istius edicto exigere debebant. At arator repetere poterat. Verum Artemidoro recuperatore. Quid si minus dedisset arator quam poposcisset Apronius? Iudi-

[1] se *has no good MS. authority.*

[a] Unfair, because vague.

tried. He replied "That they had broken the regulation"; and that he would pronounce sentence according to the verdict on this. They chose to face an unfair[a] charge, and an unscrupulous court, rather than to submit to any terms dictated by the man himself. Then he sent Timarchides secretly to them with a warning that if they were wise they would agree to a settlement. They still refused. "Oh? would you rather be sentenced to pay £500 apiece, then?" Yes, they said, they would. Then Verres said, loudly enough for all to hear, "Anyone found guilty will be flogged to death." At that, with tears in their eyes, they began to pray and entreat that they might be allowed to vacate their own farms and hand them over to Apronius with their crops and their harvests, if only they might get off without torture and disgrace.

These, gentlemen, were the conditions under which 70
Verres sold those tithes. Hortensius may say, if he will, that Verres sold the tithes for a high price. XXIX. When Verres was governor of Sicily, the position of the farmers was such that they thought themselves well treated if they were allowed to vacate their farms and hand them over to Apronius; they were only too eager to escape the numerous sufferings they saw in front of them. The edict required them to hand over as much corn as Apronius might declare due from them. Even if he declared more due than the whole of their crop? Yes: by Verres' edict that was what the magistrates had to exact from them. Well, the farmer had power to claim back from the collector. He had; and his claim was heard by—Artemidorus. What if the farmer paid over less than Apronius demanded? He

cium in aratorem in quadruplum. Ex quo iudicum numero? Ex cohorte praetoria praeclara hominum honestissimorum. Quid amplius? Minus te iugerum professum esse dico; recuperatores reice, quod adversus edictum feceris. Ex quo numero? Ex eadem cohorte. Quid erit extremum? Si damnatus eris, atque adeo cum damnatus eris—nam dubitatio damnationis illis recuperatoribus quae poterat esse?—virgis te ad necem caedi necesse erit. His legibus, his condicionibus erit quisquam tam stultus qui decumas venisse arbitretur, qui aratori novem partes reliquas factas esse existimet, qui non intellegat istum sibi quaestui praedaeque habuisse bona possessiones fortunasque aratorum?

Virgarum metu Agyrinenses quod imperatum esset
71 facturos se esse dixerunt. XXX. Accipite nunc quid imperarit, et dissimulate, si potestis, vos intellegere ipsum praetorem, id quod tota Sicilia perspexit, redemptorem decumarum atque adeo aratorum dominum ac regem fuisse. Imperat Agyrinensibus ut decumas ipsi publice accipiant, Apronio lucrum dent. Si magno emerat, quoniam tu es qui diligentissime pretia exquisisti, qui, ut ais, magno vendidisti, quare putabas emptori lucrum addi oportere? Esto, putabas: quam ob rem imperabas ut adderent? quid est aliud capere et conciliare pecunias, in quo te lex tenet, si hoc non est, vi atque imperio

was prosecuted before a court, with a fourfold penalty if convicted. From whom was this court selected? From the highly respectable members of the governor's admirable staff. Is that all? No; I next charge you with making an under-statement of your acreage; stand your trial for breaking the regulations. Trial before what court? Before a court taken from the staff aforesaid. And finally: if you are found guilty, or rather, *when* you are found guilty—for before such a court what doubt could there be of it?—you must be flogged to death. Under such terms and such conditions, will anyone be so simple as to think that those sales were sales of tithes? as to suppose that the farmer was allowed to keep nine-tenths of his corn? as not to see that the farmers' goods and property and fortunes simply went to enrich that pirate of a governor?

The threat of flogging, then, terrified these men of Agyrium into promising to do what they were ordered
to do. XXX. And now hear what Verres did order 71
them to do, and then conceal if you can your certainty of what all Sicily saw clearly, that it was the governor himself who was the purchaser of those tithe-rights, or rather, who was the farmers' master and tyrant. He ordered the people of Agyrium to take over, as a community, the collection of the tithe, paying Apronius a bonus as well.—If Apronius bought those tithe-rights dear, may I ask you, Verres—since you are the man who looked into the value of these things so carefully, and tell us you sold those rights so dear—why should you think the purchaser ought to be paid a bonus? Oh well, you did think so: but why did you *order* that payment? What can "extortion of money" be—that clearly criminal act—if this violent

cogere invitos lucrum dare alteri, hoc est pecuniam
72 dare? Quid tum? Apronio, deliciis praetoris, lucelli aliquid iussi sunt dare. Putatote Apronio datum, si Apronianum lucellum ac non praetoria praeda vobis videbitur. Imperas ut decumas accipiant, Apronio dent lucri tritici medimnum $\overline{\text{XXXIII}}$. Quid est hoc? una civitas ex uno agro plebis Romanae prope menstrua cibaria praetoris imperio donare Apronio cogitur? Tu magno decumas vendidisti, cum tantum lucri decumano sit datum? Profecto, si pretium exquisisses diligenter tum cum vendebas, $\overline{\text{X}}$ medimnum potius addidissent quam HS $\overline{\text{DC}}$ postea.

Magna praeda videtur? Audite reliqua et diligenter attendite, quo minus miremini Siculos re necessaria coactos auxilium a patronis, ab consulibus,
73 ab senatu, ab legibus, ab iudiciis petivisse. Ut probaret Apronius hoc triticum quod ei dabatur, imperat Agyrinensibus Verres ut in medimna singula dentur Apronio HS. XXXI. Quid est hoc? tanto numero frumenti lucri nomine imperato et expresso nummi praeterea exiguntur ut probetur frumentum? An poterat non modo Apronius, sed quivis, exercitui

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[a] This sum represents the value of the 33,000 bushels of wheat.

[b] *i.e.*, for the labour and expense of examining the wheat to see that it was of standard quality.

abuse of your authority to force unwilling persons to pay another person a bonus—in other words, to pay him money—if this is *not* extortion?—Very well. 72
They were ordered to pay a small trifle of bonus to the governor's particular friend Apronius. You shall believe, gentlemen, that it was Apronius to whom this was paid, if you make up your mind that it *was* a bonus for Apronius and not plunder for the governor. —You order them to take over the tithe-collection, and to pay Apronius a bonus of *thirty-three thousand* bushels of wheat. What? From the land of one town, this one town is forced, by the governor's orders, to make Apronius a present of enough corn to supply the populace of Rome for nearly a month! What, you sold the tithes at a high price—when such a profit as that was made over to the man who bought them? If you had made careful inquiry into the value of those tithes when you were selling them, I am very sure the town would have added another ten thousand bushels then, rather than £6000[a] afterwards.

You will think this a profitable robbery, gentlemen. Listen to the rest of the story, and give me your careful attention: it will not then seem so strange to you that sheer necessity has made the people of Sicily turn for help to their patrons, to our consuls and our senate, to our laws and our courts of law. As 73
a fee for the approval[b] by Apronius of the wheat thus presented to him, Verres ordered the people of Agyrium to pay Apronius one sesterce per bushel. XXXI. What have we here? Besides the extortion by order, as a so-called bonus, of that great quantity of wheat, is a money fee as well exacted for the approval of that wheat? Why, could Apronius, could

si metiendum esset, improbare Siculum frumentum, quod illi ex area, si vellet, admetiri licebat? Frumenti tantus numerus imperio tuo datur et cogitur. Non est satis; nummi praeterea imperantur. Dantur. Parum est. Pro decumis hordei alia pecunia cogitur; iubes HS $\overline{\text{XXX}}$ lucri dari. Ita ab una civitate vi, minis, imperio iniuriaque praetoris, eripiuntur tritici medimnum $\overline{\text{XXXIII}}$ et praeterea HS $\overline{\text{LX}}$.

An[1] haec obscura sunt? aut, si omnes homines velint, obscura esse possunt? Quae tu palam egisti, in conventu imperasti, omnibus inspectantibus coëgisti; qua de re Agyrinenses magistratus et quinque primi, quos tu tui quaestus causa evocaras, acta et imperia tua domum ad senatum suum renuntiaverunt; quorum renuntiatio legibus illorum litteris publicis mandata est; quorum legati, homines nobilissimi, Romae sunt, qui hoc idem pro testimonio
74 dixerunt! Cognoscite Agyrinensium publicas litteras, deinde testimonium publicum civitatis. Recita. LITTERAE PUBLICAE, TESTIMONIUM PUBLICUM. Animadvertistis in hoc testimonio, iudices, Apollodorum, cui Pyragro cognomen est, principem suae civitatis,

[1] an *is my own conjecture for* MS. at. *Peterson suggests* At haec obscura sunt. Num, si omnes . . . esse possunt quae tu . . . ?

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[a] Cicero implies that the quality was always unimpeachable.

[b] And therefore must be of the best quality.

[c] Inspection would thus be easy and adulteration impossible.

[d] The fee for "approving" the 33,000 bushels of wheat would be £330, and this with the cash "bonus" for the barley-tithe would make £630. Under-statement, in such a case, is so unlikely with Cicero that for LX it seems likely that we should read LXIII.

anyone at all, possibly reject Sicilian[a] wheat, even if it were to be taken over for army stores[b]? and, moreover, there was nothing to prevent him from taking it over, if he chose, direct from the floors where it lay.[c] All that corn is extorted and handed over by your orders. That is not enough: a money payment is ordered as well. The payment is made—and *that* will not do. A further sum of money is extorted for the tithes of barley, for which you order the presentation of a bonus of £300. And so we find this tyrannical governor, by the use of threats and violence, officially robbing a single town of 33,000 bushels of wheat and £600[d] into the bargain.

Are these things hidden? Could they be hidden, though all the world should seek to hide them? You have done them openly. The people of the district heard your orders given. Your extortions were effected before the eyes of the public. The officials and the five chief citizens of Agyrium, whom you hailed into court in order to enrich yourself, went home and reported your actions and your orders to their own senate. That report, in accordance with the local law, was entered in their public records. The men of high standing who represent them are here in Rome, and have stated in the witness-box what I have stated here. I ask the Court to listen to 74
that official entry in the records, and then to the official evidence of the town.—Read them, please. *The passage from the town records, and the official evidence of the town, are read aloud.*—You will have noticed, gentlemen, when these witnesses were speaking,[e] how Apollodorus Pyragrus, the chief citizen of his community, wept as he gave his evidence.

[e] In the *Actio Prima.*

lacrimantem testari ac dicere numquam post populi Romani nomen ab Siculis auditum et cognitum Agyrinenses contra quemquam infimum civem Romanum dixisse aut fecisse quippiam, qui nunc contra praetorem populi Romani magnis iniuriis et magno dolore publice testimonium dicere cogerentur. Uni mehercule huic civitati, Verres, obsistere tua defensio non potest; tanta auctoritas est in eorum hominum fidelitate, tantus dolor in iuiuria, tanta religio in testimonio. Verum non una te tantum, sed universae similibus afflictae iniuriis et incommodis civitates legationibus ac testimoniis publicis persequuntur.

75 XXXII. Etenim deinceps videamus Herbitensis civitas honesta et antea copiosa quem ad modum spoliata ab isto ac vexata sit. At quorum hominum! summorum aratorum, remotissimorum a foro, iudiciis, controversiis, quibus parcere et consulere, homo impurissime, et quod genus hominum studiosissime conservare debuisti. Primo anno venierunt eius agri decumae tritici modium $\overline{\text{xviii}}$. Atidius, istius item minister in decumis, cum emisset et praefecti nomine cum venisset Herbitam cum Veneriis, locusque ei publice quo deverteretur datus esset, coguntur Herbitenses ei lucri dare tritici modium $\overline{\text{xxxviii}}$dccc, cum decumae venissent tritici modium $\overline{\text{xviii}}$. Atque hoc tantum lucri coguntur dare publice tum cum iam privatim aratores ex agris spoliati atque exagitati

[a] The *modius* seems to have been $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Sicilian bushel. The purchaser of the tithe did not pay a sum of money to the State and then keep all the corn himself: he bound himself to collect and hand over a given amount of corn, and made his profit by collecting as much more as he could.

Never, he told you, since the name of Rome had been a familiar sound in Sicilian ears, had the people of Agyrium once spoken or acted against the humblest Roman citizen—the people whose great wrongs, and whose sharp sufferings, were now forcing them to bear public testimony against a Roman governor. By God, Verres, this single town is enough to beat down your defence, so impressive is these men's loyalty, so sharp the pain of their wrongs, so scrupulous their testimony. But indeed not one town only, but all the towns of Sicily have been crushed with similar wrongs and injuries, and have sent their representatives and their public testimonies to assist your prosecutors.

XXXII. Let us now, therefore, turn to Herbita, 75
and see how Verres despoiled and ravaged that reputable and hitherto prosperous community. What good folk they are! excellent farmers; men to whom the disputes and litigations of city life are things unknown.—You foul rascal, your duty was to show them consideration, to forward their interests, to do your utmost to preserve such men from harm.—In Verres' first year, the tithes of that district were sold for 18,000 pecks [a] of wheat. They were sold to Atidius, another of this man's assistants in the tithe business. Ostensibly as a district judge, he arrived at Herbita with an escort of temple slaves, and a lodging was provided for him at the expense of the town. Thereupon the town was forced to give him a bonus of 38,800 pecks of wheat—when the tithes had been sold for 18,000 pecks! It was forced as a community to pay him that huge bonus at a time when the individual farmers had already fled from their farms, plundered and driven away

76 decumanorum iniuriis profugissent. Anno secundo cum emisset Apronius decumas tritici modium $\overline{\text{xxv}}$DCCC et ipse Herbitam cum illa sua praedonum copia manuque venisset, populus publice coactus est ei conferre lucri tritici modium $\overline{\text{xxi}}$ et accessionis HS ∞ ∞. De accessione dubito an Apronio ipsi data sit merces operae atque impudentiae; de tritici quidem numero tanto quis potest dubitare quin ad istum praedonem frumentarium sicut Agyrinense frumentum pervenerit?

XXXIII. Anno tertio vero in hoc agro consuetudine usus est regia. Solere aiunt reges barbaros Persarum ac Syrorum plures uxores habere, his autem uxoribus civitates attribuere hoc modo: haec civitas mulieri in redimiculum praebeat, haec in collum, haec in crines. Ita populos habent universos non solum conscios libidinis suae verum etiam administros.
77 Eandem istius, qui se regem Siculorum esse dicebat, licentiam libidinemque fuisse cognoscite.

Aeschrionis Syracusani uxor est Pipa, cuius nomen istius nequitia tota Sicilia pervagatum est; de qua muliere versus plurimi supra tribunal et supra praetoris caput scribebantur. Hic Aeschrio, Pipae vir adumbratus, in Herbitensibus decumis novus instituitur publicanus. Herbitenses cum viderent, si ad Aeschrionem pretium resedisset, se ad arbitrium libidinosissimae mulieris spoliatum iri, liciti sunt usque

by the illegal assaults of the collectors. In the 76
second year, Apronius bought the tithes for 25,800 pecks of wheat; and on his arrival in person at Herbita with the band of highwaymen that formed his bodyguard, the inhabitants as a body were made to bestow on him a bonus of 21,000 pecks of wheat and an additional fee of £20. As for the fee, it may possibly have been given to Apronius himself as the pay for his trouble—and his unblushing knavery: but that great quantity of wheat, at least, we shall all feel sure found its way, like the corn at Agyrium, to the corn-pirate who sits yonder.

XXXIII. In the third year he adopted a practice that may fairly be described as "royal." It is the custom of the native kings in Persia and Syria, we are told, to have a number of wives, and to these wives they assign towns in the following fashion: one town is to provide for a lady's girdle, another for her necklace, another for her hair-ornaments; and thus they keep whole populations not merely in the secret but in the service of their pleasures. Even 77
such, as I will now explain, were the lawless pleasures of yonder self-styled King of the Sicilians.

Aeschrio of Syracuse has a wife named Pipa, whose name the vicious practices of Verres have made a by-word throughout Sicily: couplets referring to this woman were constantly being scribbled over the dais and above his Excellency's head. This Aeschrio, Pipa's honorary husband, was put up to be the new tax-gatherer for the tithes of Herbita. The people of Herbita were aware that, if no advance were made on the figure that Aeschrio might offer, they would be robbed of as much as that unprincipled woman might choose to demand; and therefore they bid

adeo quoad se efficere posse arbitrabantur. Supra adiecit Aeschrio; neque enim metuebat ne praetore Verre decumana mulier damno affici posset. Addicitur medimnum $\overline{\mathrm{VIII}}$c, dimidio fere pluris quam superiore anno. Aratores funditus evertebantur, et eo magis quod iam superioribus annis afflicti erant ac paene perditi. Intellexit iste ita magno venisse ut amplius ab Herbitensibus exprimi non posset; demit de capite medimna DC, iubet in tabulas pro medimnum $\overline{\mathrm{VIII}}$c referri $\overline{\mathrm{VII}}$D.

78 XXXIV. Hordei decumas eiusdem agri Docimus emerat. Hic est Docimus ad quem iste deduxerat Tertiam, Isidori mimi filiam, vi abductam ab Rhodio tibicine. Huius Tertiae plus etiam quam Pipae, plus quam ceterarum, ac prope dicam tantum apud istum in Siciliensi praetura auctoritas potuit quantum in urbana Chelidonis. Veniunt Herbitam duo praetoris aemuli non molesti, muliercularum deterrimarum improbissimi cognitores, incipiunt postulare, poscere, minari; non poterant tamen, cum cuperent, imitari Apronium; Siculi Siculos non tam pertimescebant. Cum omni ratione tamen illi calumniarentur, promittunt Herbitenses vadimonium Syracusas. Eo posteaquam ventum est, coguntur Aeschrioni, hoc

[a] 8,100 *medimna* = 48,600 *modii*.

up to the highest figure they thought they could manage to pay. Aeschrio outbid them, feeling quite sure that, with Verres governor of Sicily, there was no danger of a lady tithe-collector's losing money. The tithes were knocked down for 8100 bushels—for nearly as much again as the year before.[a] This meant complete ruin for the farmers; all the more so because they had been hard hit and all but crushed in the two previous years. Verres perceived that the price was so high that no larger amount could possibly be squeezed out of the people of Herbita; so he reduced the total figure by 600 bushels, and ordered the sale price to be entered as 7500 bushels instead of 8100.

XXXIV. The barley-tithes of this same area had 78
been bought by Docimus. Docimus is the man whom Verres had assigned as "husband" to Tertia the daughter of Isidorus the ballet-dancer, after he had carried her off from her Rhodian flute-player. This Tertia had more influence over him than any of his other women, more even than Pipa: as much, I would almost venture to say, while he was praetor in Sicily as Chelidon had while he was praetor in Rome. Both of our governor's by no means troublesome rivals in love—the rascally agents of worthless disreputable women—arrived at Herbita, and began to ask this thing and demand that and threaten the other. They could not indeed succeed in their attempt to copy Apronius; they could not frighten their own countrymen thoroughly enough for that; but they brought all manner of false charges against them, and made them accept a summons to appear before a court in Syracuse. On their arrival at Syracuse, the people of Herbita were forced to hand

est Pipae, tantum dare quantum erat de capite demptum, tritici modium $\overline{\text{III}}$DC. Mulierculae publicanae noluit ex decumis nimium lucri dare, ne forte ab nocturno suo quaestu animum ad vectigalia red-
79 imenda transferret. Transactum putabant Herbitenses, cum iste, " Quid ? de hordeo " inquit " et de Docimo, amiculo meo, quid cogitatis ? " Atque hoc agebat in cubiculo, iudices, atque in lecto suo. Negabant illi quicquam sibi esse mandatum. " Non audio; numerate HS $\overline{\text{XII}}$." Quid facerent miseri, aut quid recusarent ? praesertim cum in lecto decumanae mulieris vestigia viderent recentia, quibus illum inflammari ad perseverandum intellegebant. Ita civitas una sociorum atque amicorum duabus deterrimis mulierculis Verre praetore vectigalis fuit.

Atque ego nunc eum frumenti numerum et eas pecunias publice decumanis ab Herbitensibus datas esse dico ; quo illi frumento et quibus pecuniis tamen ab decumanorum iniuriis cives suos non redemerunt. Perditis enim iam et direptis aratorum bonis, haec decumanis merces dabatur ut aliquando ex eorum
80 agris atque ex urbibus abirent. Itaque cum Philinus Herbitensis, homo disertus et prudens et domi nobilis,

[a] The *civitas* of Herbita might include smaller towns or villages besides the chief town Herbita itself.

over to Aeschrio—in other words, to Pipa—the 3600 pecks of wheat that had been deducted from the total of the sale price : Verres thought it better not to let this female tax-gatherer make *too* much out of tithes, or the creature might transfer her energies to revenue farming and neglect the profits of her own nocturnal profession. The people of Herbita 79
were imagining their affair settled, when Verres said " Well now, what are you thinking of doing about the barley and my dear friend Docimus ? " Note, gentlemen, that he was transacting this business in his bedroom, and indeed in his bed. They had no instructions, they said, about that. " Oh, nonsense : pay down £120." What could the poor fellows do—or refuse to do ? especially when they saw in his bed the recent imprint of that female tithe-collector's body, whereby his determination was obviously being stimulated. And in that manner this allied and friendly community became tributary not to one but to two worthless and abandoned women, when Verres was governor of Sicily.

And further. I have just now told you of the quantities of corn, and the sums of money, handed over by the people of Herbita as a community to those collectors of tithe. But remember this, that they failed to buy, with that corn and that money, freedom for their fellow-townsmen from being wronged by those collectors. The farmers had been crushed and their goods plundered already ; and that payment was made to the collectors simply to induce them to quit their farms and towns[a] at last. And 80
so it was that when Philinus of Herbita, a man of education and understanding and of high rank among his own people, was speaking, as an official witness,

de calamitate aratorum et de fuga et de reliquorum paucitate publice diceret, animadvertistis gemitum, iudices, populi Romani, cuius frequentia huic causae numquam defuit. Qua de paucitate aratorum alio loco dicam: XXXV. nunc illud quod praeterii non omnino relinquendum videtur.

Nam, per deos immortales, quod de capite iste dempsit, quo tandem modo vobis non modo ferendum
81 verum etiam audiendum videtur? Unus adhuc fuit post Romam conditam—di immortales faxint ne sit alter—cui res publica totam se traderet temporibus et malis coacta domesticis, L. Sulla. Hic tantum potuit ut nemo illo invito nec bona nec patriam nec vitam retinere posset; tantum animi habuit ad audaciam ut dicere in contione non dubitaret, bona civium Romanorum cum venderet, se praedam suam vendere. Eius omnes res gestas non solum obtinemus, verum etiam propter maiorum incommodorum et calamitatum metum publica auctoritate defendimus; unum hoc aliquot senatus consultis reprehensum, decretumque est ut, quibus ille de capite dempsisset, ii pecunias in aerarium referrent. Statuit senatus hoc ne illi quidem esse licitum cui concesserat omnia, a populo factarum quaesitarumque rerum
82 summas imminuere. Illum viris fortissimis iudicarunt patres conscripti remittere de summa non potuisse:

[a] Sulla had enabled his friends to secure the goods of proscribed persons by outbidding other persons at the auctions, on the understanding that reductions in the prices finally offered would be made afterwards.

of the disastrous plight of the farmers, and how they had fled, and how few of them were left, you heard, gentlemen, the groan that arose from that great gathering of our countrymen which has attended every day of this trial. To the fewness of the farmers who are left I will refer later; XXXV. for the moment, there is a point that I have passed over and must not, I think, neglect to mention.

I speak of that reduction by Verres of the total sale-price. In God's name, how, think you, should you endure such a thing, nay, how endure to hear me
speak of it? There has been one man only in all the 81
history of Rome—God grant there may never be another—into whose hands our country, overcome by internal danger and calamity, surrendered itself without reserve. So great was the power of Lucius Sulla that no man was safe, if he willed otherwise, from poverty, from exile, from death. So unshrinking was his audacity that he did not hesitate to say, in a public speech, that in selling the goods of Roman citizens he was selling the plunder that belonged to him. The whole system that he set up is not only in force to-day, but supported against change by the authority of the State, in our fear of the worse troubles and evils that change might bring: but this one detail of it has been condemned in several decrees of the Senate, which has ordered that the amount of the deductions made by Sulla must be paid by the purchasers into the State treasury.[a] It was the Senate's ruling that it was unlawful, even for him to whom nothing had been forbidden, to diminish the total profits thus gained and acquired by the nation.—
That honourable House, Verres, held that Sulla was 82
not entitled to make such deductions in favour of

te mulieri deterrimae recte remisisse senatores iudicabunt? Ille, de quo legem populus Romanus iusserat ut ipsius voluntas ei posset esse pro lege, tamen in hoc uno genere veterum religione legum reprehenditur: tu, qui omnibus legibus implicatus tenebare, libidinem tuam tibi pro lege esse voluisti? In illo reprehenditur quod ex ea pecunia remiserit quam ipse quaesierat: tibi concedetur, qui de capite vectigalium populi Romani remisisti?

83 XXXVI. Atque in hoc genere audaciae multo etiam impudentius in decumis Acestensium versatus est; quas cum addixisset eidem illi Docimo, hoc est Tertiae, tritici modium v̄, et accessionem ascripsisset HS MD, coëgit Acestenses a Docimo tantundem publice accipere; id quod ex Acestensium publico testimonio cognoscite. Recita. TESTIMONIUM PUBLICUM. Audistis quanti decumas acceperit a Docimo civitas, tritici modium v̄ et accessionem: cognoscite nunc quanti se vendidisse rettulerit. LEX DECUMIS VENDUNDIS C. VERRE PR. Hoc nomine videtis tritici modium CIↃ CIↃ CIↃ de capite esse dempta, quae cum de populi Romani victu, de vectigalium nervis, de sanguine detraxisset aerarii, Tertiae mimae condonavit. Utrum impudentius ab sociis abstulit an

[a] The members of the present Court.

[b] A community not easy to identify: not the Segestans, as *Aeneid* v. 718 might suggest: these Cicero refers to (§ 92) as *Segestani*.

[c] *Lex* rather suggests the meaning "conditions of sale": the statement of the actual sales was perhaps appended to this.

Roman gentlemen; and will these members of that House[a] hold that you were entitled to make them in favour of a worthless woman? Sulla, for whose benefit the people of Rome passed a law that gave his own will and pleasure the force of law, is nevertheless condemned, in this single matter, by the solemn sanctions of the laws of old; and yet have you, a man liable to punishment for breaking every law in the world, deliberately chosen to give the force of law to your own wanton will and pleasure? Sulla is condemned for allowing deductions from a revenue that he himself gained for us: shall you be acquitted for allowing deductions from the yield of the taxes imposed by the Roman nation?

XXXVI. An instance of this type of rascality far more shameless still was his behaviour in connexion with the tithes of the Acestans.[b] He knocked these down to the Docimus whom we have already heard of—in effect, to Tertia—for 5000 pecks of wheat, with an added fee of £15; and then he compelled the inhabitants as a body to take them over at the same figure from Docimus: this fact you shall learn from the official evidence of the Acestans—Read it, please. *It is read.*—You have heard the sum for which the town took over the tithes from Docimus—5000 pecks of wheat, plus fee: now note the sum for which Verres has recorded himself as selling them. *The list of sales of tithe[c] during Verres' praetorship is read.* You observe that under this heading 3000 pecks of wheat have been subtracted from the total. And having done thus much to starve the Roman people, to enfeeble their revenues and bleed their treasury—he made a present of it to Tertia the actress. Which is worst—the shameless robbery of 83

turpius meretrici dedit an improbius populo Romano ademit an audacius tabulas publicas commutavit? Ex horum severitate te ulla vis eripiet aut ulla largitio? Non eripiet. Sed si eripuerit, non intellegis haec quae iam dudum loquor ad aliam quaestionem
84 atque ad peculatus iudicium pertinere? Itaque hoc mihi reservabo genus totum integrum; ad illam quam institui causam frumenti ac decumarum revertar.

Qui cum agros maximos et feracissimos per se ipsum, hoc est per Apronium, Verrem alterum, depopularetur, ad minores civitates habebat alios quos tamquam canes immitteret, nequam homines et improbos, quibus aut frumentum aut pecuniam publice cogebat dari. XXXVII. A. Valentius est in Sicilia interpres, quo iste interprete non ad linguam Graecam, sed ad furta et flagitia uti solebat. Fit hic interpres, homo levis atque egens, repente decumanus; emit agri Liparensis miseri atque ieiuni decumas tritici medimnis DC. Liparenses vocantur; ipsi accipere decumas et numerare Valentio coguntur lucri HS $\overline{\text{XXX}}$. Per deos immortales, utrum tibi sumes ad defensionem, tantone minoris te decumas vendidisse ut ad medimna DC HS $\overline{\text{XXX}}$ lucri statim sua voluntate civitas adderet, hoc est tritici medimnum $\overline{\text{II}}$, an, cum magno decumas vendidisses, te expressisse

[a] *Interpres* means "go-between" as well as "interpreter."
[b] The largest island of the Lipari group off the north coast of Sicily.

our allies, the disgraceful present to a whore, the unscrupulous theft from the people of Rome, or the impudent forgery of official records?—Shall any violence, shall any corruption, deliver you from the stern justice of this Court? None shall: but if it should, cannot you see that what I have just now been saying has an important bearing on another court—on a prosecution for embezzlement?—And 84
for that reason I will keep all this part of my case in reserve, and make no use of it, but resume and complete my handling of the subject of corn and the corn-tithes.

Now while Verres himself—I mean Apronius, his other self—used to ravage the largest and richest areas, he had other men whom he would let loose like hounds to prey upon the smaller communities; and to these worthless rascals he would force such places to make corporate gifts of corn or money. XXXVII. There is, for instance, an interpreter in Sicily called Aulus Valentius, whom Verres employed to help him[a] not with the Greek language but with his thefts and debaucheries. This unimportant and penniless interpreter suddenly turned tithe-collector, and bought for 600 bushels of wheat the tithes of the thin and poverty-stricken land in Lipara.[b] The inhabitants of Lipara were called together, and forced to take over the collection of the tithes themselves and pay Valentius a cash bonus of £300.—In God's name, what line of defence will you take here? That you sold those tithes so much too cheap that the place promptly added, of its own accord, to those 600 bushels, a bonus of £300, the equivalent of 2000 bushels of wheat? Or that you sold those tithes dear, and then wrung this sum of money from the

85 ab invitis Liparensibus hanc pecuniam? Sed quid ego ex te quaero quid defensurus sis, potius quam cognoscam ex ipsa civitate quid gestum sit? Recita testimonium publicum Liparensium, deinde quem ad modum nummi Valentio sint dati. TESTIMONIUM PUBLICUM. QUO MODO SOLUTUM SIT, EX LITTERIS PUBLICIS. Etiamne haec tam parva civitas, tam procul a manibus tuis atque a conspectu remota, seiuncta a Sicilia, in insula inculta tenuique posita, cumulata aliis tuis maioribus iniuriis, in hoc quoque frumentario genere praedae tibi et quaestui fuit? Quam tu totam insulam cuidam tuorum sodalium sicut aliquod munusculum condonaras, ab hac etiam haec frumentaria lucra tamquam a mediterraneis exigebantur? Itaque qui tot annis agellos suos te praetore redimere a piratis solebant, idem se ipsos a te pretio imposito redemerunt.

86 XXXVIII. Quid vero? a Tissensibus, perparva ac tenui civitate, sed aratoribus laboriosissimis frugalissimisque hominibus, nonne plus lucri nomine eripitur quam quantum omnino frumenti exararant? Ad quos tu decumanum Diognetum Venerium misisti, novum genus publicani—cur hoc auctore non Romae quoque servi publici ad vectigalia accedunt? Anno secundo Tissenses HS $\overline{\text{xxi}}$ lucri dare coguntur inviti;

[a] "Before," if we follow the reading of the inferior MSS. But Verres' failure to guard the coast and islands from the pirates, a failure denounced at length in Book v., is one of the "other and more grievous wrongs" of Lipara that Cicero has just mentioned.

reluctant inhabitants? But why am I asking you 85 what line you mean to take, instead of finding out from Lipara itself what did happen?—Kindly read the official evidence of the community of Lipara, and then their statement of the circumstances in which the money was presented to Valentius. *The official evidence is read, and an extract from the public records stating how the money was paid.*—Yes? was even this poor little place, that lay so far from your grasp and even from your observation, cut off from Sicily, situated on a wild and barren island—was this place, on which you had already piled a load of other and more grievous wrongs, also among those whose corn-crops became your prey and swelled your gains? This island that you presented complete, as though it were some trifling gratuity, to one of your own associates—even from it were these corn-bonuses extorted as though it lay in the midst of Sicily? Yes: and so these folk, who had been ransoming their own lands from the pirates year after year, while[a] you were governor of Sicily, now had to pay the sum you demanded and ransom themselves from you.

XXXVIII. Now let us take the case of Tissa: a 86 very small and poor community, though its people are honest men and industrious farmers. From them you took, as a so-called bonus, more than the whole amount of their harvest. The collector you sent to deal with them was Diognetus—a temple slave. (A novelty in the tax-farming profession, gentlemen: with such support from Verres, why are the government slaves not taking up tax-farming here in Rome as well?) In your second year, the people of Tissa were unwillingly compelled to pay a bonus of £210;

tertio anno $\overline{\text{xii}}$ mod. tritici lucri Diogneto Venerio dare coacti sunt. Hic Diognetus, qui ex publicis vectigalibus tanta lucra facit, vicarium nullum habet, nihil omnino peculii. Vos etiam nunc dubitate, si potestis, utrum tantum numerum tritici Venerius, apparitor istius, sibi acceperit an huic exegerit.
87 Atque haec ex publico Tissensium testimonio cognoscite. TESTIMONIUM PUBLICUM TISSENSIUM. Obscure, iudices, praetor ipse decumanus est, cum eius apparitores frumentum a civitatibus exigant, pecunias imperent, aliquanto plus ipsi lucri auferant quam quantum populo Romano decumarum nomine daturi sint! Haec aequitas in tuo imperio fuit, haec praetoris dignitas, ut servos Venerios Siculorum dominos esse velles; hic dilectus, hoc discrimen te praetore fuit, ut aratores in servorum numero essent, servi in publicanorum.

88 XXXIX. Quid? Amestratini miseri, impositis ita magnis decumis, ut ipsis reliqui nihil fieret, nonne tamen numerare pecunias coacti sunt? Addicuntur decumae M. Caesio, cum adessent legati Amestratini; statim cogitur Heraclius legatus numerare HS $\overline{\text{xxii}}$. Quid hoc est? quae est ista praeda, quae vis, quae direptio sociorum? Si erat Heraclio ab senatu

[a] Not having these customary privileges of favoured slaves, it is argued that even for a slave he was a person of small importance.

[b] The official evidence no doubt indicated the amount of the actual tithe collected from Tissa: but these words may refer to the case of Lipara, § 84.

[c] As before, the town is forced to take over the tithes, and the bonus goes to the original buyer.

in your third year, they were compelled to pay a bonus of 12,000 pecks of wheat to Diognetus the temple slave.—Now this Diognetus, gentlemen, who made such large profits out of the national revenues, owned no deputy-slave, nor one penny of private savings.[a] By all means hesitate, if even after this you can still do so, to say whether this temple slave, this attendant of Verres, had all that corn given him for himself or took it for Verres' benefit. Listen to 87
the facts as stated in the official evidence of Tissa.—*The evidence is read.*—It is indeed hard to feel sure that our governor is himself the tithe-farmer, when his personal attendants exact corn from the towns, order them to pay sums of money, and themselves carry off as a bonus considerably more[b] than they are to furnish as tithe to the people of Rome! Thus did you clothe your authority with equity and your office with dignity—by making temple slaves the Sicilians' masters: thus justly were social distinctions observed, when you were governor of Sicily—by classing farmers as slaves, and slaves as farmers of taxes.

XXXIX. Consider next how the wretched inhabit- 88
ants of Amestratus were made to hand over so much as tithe that they had nothing left for themselves, and were none the less forced to pay sums of money as well. The tithes were knocked down to Marcus Caesius in the presence of representatives of the town; and one of these, Heraclius, was compelled to pay him £220 on the spot.[c]—What does this mean, Verres? Explain this robbery and violence of yours, this plundering of our allies! Heraclius cannot have

mandatum ut emeret, emisset; si non erat, qui poterat sua sponte pecuniam numerare? Caesio
89 renuntiat se dedisse. Cognoscite renuntiationem ex litteris publicis. Recita. Ex LITTERIS PUBLICIS. Quo senatus consulto erat hoc legato permissum? Nullo. Cur fecit? Coactus est. Quis hoc dicit? Tota civitas. Recita testimonium publicum. TESTIMONIUM PUBLICUM. Ab hac eadem civitate anno secundo simili ratione extortam esse pecuniam et Sex. Vennonio datam ex eodem testimonio cognovistis. At Amestratinos, homines tenues, cum eorum decumas medimnis DCCC vendidisses Bariobali Venerio—cognoscite nomina publicanorum—cogis eos plus lucri addere quam quanti venierant, cum magno venissent. Dant Bariobali medimna DCCCL, HS MD. Profecto numquam iste tam amens fuisset ut ex agro populi Romani plus frumenti servo Venerio quam populo Romano tribui pateretur, nisi omnis ea praeda servi nomine ad istum ipsum perveniret.

90 Petrini, cum eorum decumae magno addictae essent, tamen invitissimi P. Naevio Turpioni, homini improbissimo, qui iniuriarum Sacerdote praetore damnatus est, HS $\overline{\text{LII}}$ dare coacti sunt. Itane dissolute decumas vendidisti ut, cum esset medimnum

[a] The reasoning is, that Verres cannot claim that the transfer of the tithes was voluntary, a substitute for that purchase at the auction which the town had instructed him to effect. *Had* it been voluntary, the payment of the bonus would have been voluntary too.

had instructions from his senate to buy the tithes, or he would have bought them[a]: if, then, he had no such instructions, how can he have paid that money of his own free will?—Well, he reported that he had paid this money to Cassius: you shall hear his 89
report as entered in the records of the town.—Read it, please. *It is read.*—By what order of the town senate was its representative authorized to do this? No such order was given. Why, then, did he do it? He was forced to do it. Who says he was forced to do it? The whole community.—Read us the official evidence. *It is read.*—The year following, money was extorted from this same town in a similar fashion and given to Sextus Vennonius, as you have already learnt from this piece of evidence. And after selling the tithes of these people of Amestratus—who were poor men, remember—for 800 bushels to the temple slave Bariobalis (do but note the names of these tax-farmers!) you forced them to add a bonus that came to more than the sale price of the tithes, high as that price was. They gave Bariobalis 850 bushels, plus £15 in money. Most certainly Verres would never have been such a lunatic as to allow a temple slave to receive a larger share of corn, grown on Roman soil, than went to the Roman people, unless all that plunder, nominally the slave's, came to Verres himself in the end.

The tithes of Petra were knocked down at a high 90
figure: but none the less, very much against its will, Petra was forced to pay £520 to an utter scoundrel called Publius Naevius Turpio, who was found guilty of assault and battery during the praetorship of Sacerdos. Do you mean to say that you sold those tithes so recklessly that they went for 3000 bushels

HS xv, venissent autem decumae medimnum $\overline{\text{iii}}$, hoc est HS $\overline{\text{xxxxv}}$, lucri decumano HS $\overline{\text{LII}}$ darentur? At permagno decumas eius agri vendidisti. Videlicet gloriatur non Turpioni lucrum datum esse, sed Petrinis pecuniam ereptam.

91 XL. Quid? Halicyenses, quorum incolae decumas dant, ipsi agros immunes habent, nonne huic eidem Turpioni, cum decumae c med. venissent, HS $\overline{\text{xv}}$ dare coacti sunt? Si id quod maxime vis posses probare, haec ad decumanos lucra venisse, nihil te attigisse, tamen hae pecuniae per vim atque iniuriam tuam captae et conciliatae tibi fraudi ac damnationi esse deberent; cum vero hoc nemini persuadere possis, te tam amentem fuisse ut Apronium et Turpionem, servos homines, tuo liberumque tuorum periculo divites fieri velles, dubitaturum quemquam existimas quin illis emissariis haec tibi omnis pecunia quaesita sit?

92 Segestam item ad immunem civitatem Venerius Symmachus decumanus immittitur. Is ab isto litteras affert, ut sibi contra omnia senatus consulta, contra omnia iura, contraque legem Rupiliam extra forum vadimonium promittant aratores. Audite litteras quas ad Segestanos miserit. LITTERAE C.

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[a] *i.e.*, if Verres tries to show that Petra paid the bonus willingly when taking over the tithes, he must maintain that the sale price was *not* a high one but a low one; and since the bonus was so huge, the sale price must have been reprehensibly low. The whole sentence is of course ironical.

[b] Freely, in gratitude for a low assessment of their tithe; this has reference to the already rejected ironical supposition.

[c] The area cultivated by non-citizen tenants was plainly very small.

—that is, since a bushel was worth three shillings, for £450—and yet a bonus of £520 was paid to the collector?[a] Oh, you allege that you sold the tithe of that district for a very *high* price, do you?—Very well then: what he has to boast of is not the bonus that was given to Turpio,[b] but the robbery of the people of Petra.

XL. Next for Halicyae, whose tenants are subject to tithe though its own citizens are exempt. It was compelled to give this same man Turpio £150, though the tithes had been sold for a mere hundred bushels.[c] —If you could prove what you so very much desire to prove—that these bonus profits went to the collectors and you yourself never handled any of them —even so, the unjust and forcible extortion of these sums of money ought to bring disaster and condemnation on yourself. And as you can make none of us believe that you were so insane as to take such risks for yourself and your children in order to enrich mere slaves like Apronius and Turpio, do you suppose that anyone doubts that those men were simply your agents, and you the man for whose gain all that money was acquired? 91

To deal with Segesta, another community exempt from tithe,[d] there was sent another of these temple slaves as collector, by name Symmachus. This man brought with him a letter from Verres which authorized him—in defiance alike of all our Senate's decrees, of all the inhabitants' rights, and of the Rupilian Law —to cite farmers before a court outside the limits of their district. Listen to this letter that Verres wrote to the people of Segesta. *The letter is read.* The 92

[d] Apparently, like Halicyae, only so far as the citizens themselves were concerned.

Verris. Hic Venerius quem ad modum aratores eluserit, ex una pactione hominis honesti gratiosique cognoscite; in eodem enim genere sunt cetera.
93 Diocles est Panhormitanus, Phimes cognomine, homo illustris ac nobilis. Arabat is agrum conductum in Segestano; nam commercium in eo agro nemini est; conductum habebat HS sex milibus. Pro decuma, cum pulsatus a Venerio esset, decidit HS $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ et medimnis[1] DCLIIII. Id ex tabulis ipsius cognoscite. Nomen Dioclis Panhormitani.

Huic eidem Symmacho C. Annaeus Brocchus senator, homo eo splendore, ea virtute, qua omnes existimatis, nummos praeter frumentum coactus est dare. Venerione servo te praetore talis vir, senator populi Romani, quaestui fuit?

XLI. Hunc ordinem si dignitate antecellere non
94 existimabas, ne hoc quidem sciebas, iudicare? Antea cum equester ordo iudicaret, improbi et rapaces magistratus in provinciis inserviebant publicanis; ornabant eos qui in operis erant; quemcumque equitem Romanum in provincia viderant, beneficiis ac liberalitate prosequebantur; neque tantum illa res nocentibus proderat quantum obfuit multis, cum aliquid contra utilitatem eius ordinis voluntatemque fecissent. Retinebatur hoc tum nescio quo modo

[1] *The word* medimnis *is found in no MS.*

[a] In all, the equivalent of about £250, or 4 times his annual rent.

sort of game that this temple slave played with these farmers you may appreciate by noting how he settled things in one case with one esteemed and reputable man: the rest of his doings are of the same type.
There is a well-known gentleman of Panhormus, 93
named Diocles Phimes, who was working a farm in the Segestan area; a leasehold farm, for none but Segestans may own a freehold in their district; for this farm he was paying a rent of £60. After being knocked about sufficiently by that temple slave, he agreed to pay the man as tithe £160 as well as 654 bushels of wheat.[a] This is confirmed, as you shall hear, by his own books. *The accounts are read aloud.*

And Gaius Antonius Brocchus, a member of our Senate, a man whose distinction and merit you all recognize, was compelled to pay this same man Symmachus money as well as corn. Yes, a man like that, a senator of Rome, became material for enriching a temple slave—when Verres was governor of Sicily!

XLI. You may have thought nothing, Verres, of the supreme respect due to the senatorial order: were you not even aware that it judges in our courts?
In former days, when the judges came from the 94
equestrian order, dishonest and rapacious governors in our provinces were the tax-farmers' humble servants; they showered distinctions on all of them who were in business there; let them but come across a knight in their province, and their hospitable services attended him everywhere. Now criminal governors may have gained by this state of things: but far more often it told against those who did something that injured or offended the equestrian order. The knights, in those days, as if by a kind of general

quasi communi consilio ab illis diligenter, ut, qui
unum equitem Romanum contumelia dignum putasset,
95 ab universo ordine malo dignus iudicaretur: tu sic
ordinem senatorium despexisti, sic ad iniurias libidinesque tuas omnia coaequasti, sic habuisti statutum
cum animo ac deliberatum, omnes qui habitarent in
Sicilia, aut qui Siciliam te praetore attigissent, iudices
reicere, ut illud non cogitares tamen, ad eiusdem
ordinis homines te iudices esse venturum? in quibus
si ex ipsorum domestico incommodo nullus dolor
insideret, tamen esset illa cogitatio, in alterius iniuria
sese despectos dignitatemque ordinis contemptam et
abiectam. Quod mehercule, iudices, mihi non
mediocriter ferendum videtur; habet enim quendam
aculeum contumelia quem pati pudentes ac viri boni
96 difficillime possunt. Spoliasti Siculos; solent enim
muti esse in iniuriis suis. Vexasti negotiatores;
inviti enim Romam raroque decedunt. Equites
Romanos ad Apronii iniurias dedisti; quid enim iam
nocere possunt quibus non licet iudicare? Quid?
cum senatores summis iniuriis afficis, quid aliud dicis
nisi hoc, "Cedo mihi etiam istum senatorem, ut hoc
amplissimum nomen senatorium non modo ad invidiam imperitorum sed etiam ad contumeliam im-
97 proborum natum esse videatur"? Neque hoc in

agreement, adhered resolutely to the tradition
whereby, if any man thought fit to insult a single one
of them, the whole order agreed that he ought to
suffer for it. And yet did your contempt for the 95
senatorial order—did your degradation of all the
world to the level of your own life of injustice and
debauchery—did your settled determination to
eliminate from this Court any man who was living in
Sicily, or who had landed there while you were its
governor—did all this prevent your remembering
that, after all, you would have to face a Court whose
members were members of this same senatorial order
—men whose minds might perhaps nourish no private
grievance for personal injuries, but who would none
the less reflect that any wrong done to another
senator meant that they were themselves insulted,
and that the honour of their order was contemptuously
kicked aside? And by heaven, gentlemen, I cannot
feel that this calls for no more than ordinary resentment: such an insult inflicts a sting that the sensitive
and honourable must find it hard to endure. You 96
have despoiled the people of Sicily: well, it is their
way to keep silence when they are wronged. You
have made havoc among the business men: well, they
do not readily, or often, leave Sicily for Rome. You
have surrendered Roman knights to the outrages
of Apronius: well, how can they harm you who may
no longer be your judges? And now, when you
do grievous wrongs to Roman senators, are you not
simply saying "Let me get hold of yonder senator
too, and the world shall see that the most august title
of senator was meant to be exposed not merely to
the jealousy of ignorant fools but to the insolence
of scoundrels"?—And Annaeus was not the only 97

uno fecit Annaeo, sed in omnibus senatoribus, ut ordinis nomen non tantum ad honorem quantum ad ignominiam valeret. In C. Cassio, clarissimo et fortissimo viro, cum is eo ipso tempore, primo istius anno, consul esset, tanta improbitate usus est ut, cum eius uxor, femina primaria, paternas haberet arationes in Leontino, frumentum omne decumanos auferre iusserit. Hunc tu in hac causa testem, Verres,
98 habebis, quoniam iudicem ne haberes providisti. Vos autem, iudices, putare debetis esse quiddam nobis inter nos commune atque coniunctum. Multa sunt imposita huic ordini munera, multi labores, multa pericula non solum legum ac iudiciorum, sed etiam rumorum ac temporum. Sic est hic ordo quasi propositus atque editus in altum ut ab omnibus ventis invidiae circumflari posse videatur. In hac tam misera atque iniqua condicione vitae ne hoc quidem retinebimus, iudices, ut magistratibus nostris in obtinendo iure nostro ne contemptissimi ac despicatissimi esse videamur?

99 XLII. Thermitani miserunt qui decumas emerent agri sui. Magni sua putabant interesse publice potius quamvis magno emi quam in aliquem istius emissarium inciderent. Appositus erat Venuleius quidam qui emeret. Is liceri non destitit; illi quoad videbatur ferri aliquo modo posse contenderunt; postremo liceri destiterunt. Addicitur Venuleio

[a] On the political situation see Vol. I. Introduction, pp. x-xiii.

senator he treated thus; he treated them all thus; the name of senator was to ensure them all not honour but humiliation. To that great and eminent man Gaius Cassius, though he was consul at that very time, in his own first year as praetor, he behaved in the vilest fashion, causing the tithe-collectors to remove the whole harvest of a farm at Leontini which the wife of Cassius, a lady of the highest standing, had inherited from her father.—You shall see Cassius in this trial, Verres: in the witness-box, as you took care to prevent his appearing on the bench.—Now it 98
is for you, gentlemen, to recognize the common tie that binds us together. Our order has a heavy load laid upon it; many tasks, and many toils, and many dangers; not legislative and judicial only, but the outcome of hostile rumours and political uncertainties.[a] In so lofty and exalted a place is our order set that we feel it exposed to the winds of unpopularity that blow upon it from every quarter. And having thus to spend our lives under conditions of such unhappy disadvantage, shall we not even keep the power of maintaining our own rights against our own officials? must we appear as the objects of their contempt and derision?

XLII. The people of Thermae sent representatives 99
to buy the tithes of their own territory, thinking it most important for themselves that the tithes should be bought by the town, even for a large sum, rather than fall into the hands of one of the governor's agents. A man named Venuleius was put up by Verres to buy them. This man overbid the others again and again; and they, having maintained the struggle up to the highest figure that appeared at all manageable, at last ceased to bid any further. The

tritici medimnum viii milibus. Legatus Posidorus renuntiat. Cum omnibus hoc intolerandum videretur, tamen Venuleio dantur, ne accedat, tritici mod. $\overline{\text{vii}}$ et praeterea HS $\overline{\text{ii}}$; ex quo facile apparet quae merces decumani, quae praetoris praeda esse videatur. Cedo Thermitanorum mihi litteras et testimonium. TABULAE THERMITANORUM ET TESTIMONIUM.

100 Imacharenses iam omni frumento ablato, iam omnibus iniuriis tuis exinanitos tributum facere miseros ac perditos coegisti, ut Apronio darent HS $\overline{\text{xx}}$. Recita et decretum de tributis et publicum testimonium. SENATUS CONSULTUM DE TRIBUTO CONFERUNDO. TESTAMONIUM IMACHARENSIUM.

Hennenses, cum decumae venissent agri Hennensis med. $\overline{\text{viii}}$cc, Apronio coacti sunt dare tritici modium $\overline{\text{xviii}}$ et HS iii milia. Quaeso, attendite quantus numerus frumenti cogatur ex omni agro decumano. Nam per omnes civitates quae decumas debent percurrit oratio mea, et in hoc genere nunc, iudices, versor, non in quo singillatim aratores eversi bonis omnibus sint, sed quae publice decumanis lucra data sint, ut aliquando ex eorum agris atque urbibus expleti atque saturati cum hoc cumulo quaestus decederent.

101 XLIII. Calactinis quam ob rem imperasti anno tertio ut decumas agri sui, quas Calactae dare con-

tithes were knocked down to Venuleius for 8000 bushels of wheat. Posidorus, one of the town's representatives, reported the result; and intolerably high as the price seemed to everyone, Venuleius was nevertheless offered 7000 pecks of wheat and £20 in cash to forgo his rights: plain evidence enough of the respective amounts of the collector's pay and the governor's plunder.—Let us have the papers and evidence from the people of Thermae, please. *The city's accounts and evidence are read.*—

You carried off the whole harvest of the people of Imachara, and reduced them to poverty by all your unjust exactions; and after all that, you forced these unhappy ruined folk to pay you a special donation by presenting Apronius with £200.—Read us the decree about the donation, and the evidence of the town. *The decree of the town senate about paying the donation, and the evidence of Imachara, are read.*— 100

The tithes of the Henna district were sold for 8200 bushels, and then the town was forced to pay Apronius 18,000 pecks of wheat and £30 in cash. I would beg you to note carefully the vast amount of corn extorted from the tithe-paying land as a whole. I am now running quickly through the list of the tithe-paying *communities*: the type of cases with which I am dealing now is not that of the stripping of individual farmers of all they possessed, but the corporate payments of bonuses to tithe-collectors, in the hope of ultimately getting them to leave the towns and the country-side, when they were at last stuffed to repletion with their accumulated gains.

XLIII. Why, in your third year, should you order the people of Calacte to deliver to the collector Marcus Caesius at Amestratus the tithes on their 101

sueverant, Amestrati M. Caesio decumano darent? quod neque ante te praetorem illi fecerant neque tu ipse hoc ita statueras antea per biennium.

Theomnastus Syracusanus in agrum Mutycensem cur abs te immissus est? qui aratores ita vexavit ut illi in alteras decumas, id quod in aliis quoque civitatibus ostendam, triticum emere necessario propter inopiam cogerentur.

102 Iam vero ex Hyblensium pactionibus intellegetis, quae factae sunt cum decumano Cn. Sergio, sexiens tanto quam quantum satum sit ablatum esse ab aratoribus. Recita sationes et pactiones ex litteris publicis. Cognoscite pactiones Menaenorum cum Venerio servo. Cognoscite item professiones sationum [et pactiones][1] Menaenorum. Patiemini, iudices, a sociis, ab aratoribus populi Romani, ab eis qui vobis laborant, vobis serviunt, qui ita plebem Romanam ab sese ali volunt ut sibi ac liberis suis tantum supersit quo ipsi ali possint, ab his per summam iniuriam, per acerbissimas contumelias plus aliquanto ablatum esse quam natum sit?

103 Sentio, iudices, moderandum iam mihi esse orationi meae fugiendamque vestram satietatem. Non

[1] [et pactiones]. *To bracket these words seems the easiest way to make sense of this passage. For* cognoscite item *Long reads* recita ex litteris publicis, *without MS. authority.*
In view of the preceding sentence, either et pactiones *or* Menaenorum *must be corrupt readings.*

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[a] The grievance is here the cost of transporting loads of corn seven or eight miles inland and uphill for no conceivable good reason.

[b] See critical note.

[c] The yield implied is very low, but not improbable. Long has an excursus (pp. 424-428) on the relation, in

lands that they had always been used to deliver at Calacte itself? They had never sent them elsewhere before you became governor, and even you yourself had not made any such arrangement in the two preceding years.[a]

Why did you let loose Theomnastus of Syracuse against the territory of Mutyca? This man harried the farmers there so savagely that in order to pay the supplementary tithes—and this is a thing which, as I shall show, happened in other towns too—they were constrained by necessity to buy corn elsewhere because they had none of their own.

You will further see, gentlemen, from the settle- 102
ments made by the town of Hybla with the collector Gnaeus Sergius, that the amount of corn taken from the farmers there was no less than six times that of the seed sown.—Read, please, the passages from the town records dealing with the corn-sowings and the tithe-settlements.—Listen to the settlements made by the people of Menae—with a temple slave; and also to the sowing returns [and settlements] made by the people of Menae.[b] Gentlemen, will you allow these allies of ours—these farmers of Roman land—these men who toil for *you* and serve *you*—who are willing enough that the populace of Rome should be fed by them, if only they and their children may have enough left to feed themselves—will you allow these men, in a fashion as grossly unjust as it is bitterly humiliating, to be robbed of appreciably more corn than the whole yield of their harvest?[c]

I feel, gentlemen, that it is time for me to check 103
myself, lest I should weary you with an excess of

ancient and modern times, between the quantity of seed sown and the yield of the harvest.

versabor in uno genere diutius, et ita cetera de oratione mea tollam ut in causa tamen relinquam. Audietis Agrigentinorum, fortissimorum virorum, diligentissimorum aratorum, querimonias; cognoscetis Entellinorum, hominum summi laboris summaeque industriae, dolorem et iniurias; Heracliensium, Gelensium, Soluntinorum incommoda proferentur; Catinensium, locupletissimorum hominum amicissimorumque, agros vexatos ab Apronio cognoscetis; Tyndaritanam, nobilissimam civitatem, Cephaloeditanam, Haluntinam, Apolloniensem, Enguinam, Capitinam perditas esse hac iniquitate decumarum intellegetis; Inensibus, Murgentinis, Assorinis, Helorinis, Ietinis nihil omnino relictum; Cetarinos, Scherinos, parvarum civitatum homines, omnino abiectos esse ac perditos; omnes denique agros decumanos per triennium populo Romano ex parte decuma, C. Verri ex omni reliquo vectigales fuisse, et plerisque aratoribus nihil omnino superfuisse; si cui quid autem aut relictum aut remissum sit, id fuisse tantum quantum ex eo quo istius avaritia contenta fuit redundarit.

104 XLIV. Duarum mihi civitatum reliquos feci agros, iudices, fere optimos ac nobilissimos, Aetnensem et Leontinum. Horum ego agrorum missos faciam quaestus triennii; unum annum eligam, quo facilius id quod institui explicare possim. Sumam annum tertium, quod et recentissimus est et ab isto ita

detail. I will dwell no longer on this one subject. But the rest of it, though left out of my speech, shall none the less be put before you. You shall hear the citizens of Agrigentum—fine men, keen farmers—relate their grievances. You shall learn of the wrongs and sufferings of the strenuous and hard-working people of Entella. The hardships of Heraclea and Gela and Soluntum shall be put before you. You shall be told how Apronius laid waste the lands of prosperous and friendly Catina. You shall be made aware that by this iniquitous tithe business the famous Tyndaris, Cephaloedium and Haluntium, Apollonia and Engyium and Capitium, have all been ruined; that Ina, Murgentia, Assorus, Helorus, Ietae have nothing at all left to them; that the people in the little districts of Cetaria and Schera have simply become ruined outcasts; that, in fact, for the space of three years, throughout all the lands that are subject to tithe, one-tenth of the harvests went as tribute to Rome, and all the rest as tribute to Gaius Verres, and that the greater part of the farmers were left with none at all; while, if we find that here and there some portion was either left behind or sent back, it only means that Verres had glutted his greed, and these were the scraps left over.

XLIV. There are however two cities the tale of 104
whose corn-lands I have reserved till now—perhaps the richest and most famous lands of all: Aetna, and Leontini. In considering what Verres made out of these districts, I will neglect the total yield of his three years: what I am now about to say can be more simply put before you if I select a single year. I will take the third year; the year which is nearest to us, and the year in which Verres, knowing that it

administratus ut, cum se certe decessurum videret, non laboraret si aratorem in Sicilia nullum omnino esset relicturus. Agri Aetnensis et Leontini decumas agemus. Attendite, iudices, diligenter. Agri sunt feraces, annus tertius, decumanus Apronius.

105 De Aetnensibus perpauca dicam; dixerunt enim ipsi priore actione publice. Memoria tenetis Artemidorum Aetnensem, legationis eius principem, publice dicere Apronium venisse Aetnam cum Veneriis; vocasse ad se magistratus, imperasse ut in foro sibi medio lecti sternerentur, cotidie solitum esse non modo in publico sed etiam de publico convivari; cum in eius conviviis symphonia caneret maximisque poculis ministraretur, retineri solitos esse aratores, atque ab eis non modo per iniuriam sed etiam per contumeliam tantum exprimi frumenti quantum
106 Apronius imperasset. Audistis haec, iudices; quae nunc ego omnia praetereo et relinquo. Nihil de luxuria Apronii loquor, nihil de insolentia, nihil de permissa ab isto licentia, nihil de singulari nequitia ac turpitudine: tantum de quaestu ac lucro dicam unius agri et unius anni, quo facilius vos coniecturam de triennio et de tota Sicilia facere possitis. Sed mihi Aetnensium brevis est ratio; ipsi enim venerunt, ipsi publicas litteras deportaverunt; docuerunt vos

[a] More exactly, a combination of choral singing with instrumental accompaniment.

was certain to be his last, managed affairs without caring whether, on leaving Sicily, he was likely to leave any farmers at all behind him. We are to consider the tithes of Aetna and Leontini. Note the position carefully, gentlemen. These lands are fertile; it was the third year; and the collector was Apronius.

Of Aetna I will speak quite briefly: its citizens 105
have officially spoken for themselves in the first part of this trial, and you will remember the official statement made by Artemidorus of Aetna as the leader of its representatives. He told you that Apronius, with a body of temple slaves, arrived in Aetna, sent for the magistrates, and gave orders for couches to be spread for him in the midst of the market-place. He told you that it was the man's daily habit to hold revels that the public not only witnessed but paid for, and that while the band [a] was playing at these functions, and wine being served on the most lavish scale, farmers were commonly being held under arrest, and as much corn as Apronius chose to demand was being extorted from them by this combination of injury with insult. All these things, gentlemen, 106
you have heard; and I will now let them pass unmentioned. I have nothing to say about the luxury of Apronius, nor about his insolence, nor about the licence granted to him by Verres, nor about his unparalleled and disgusting depravity. I shall speak only of the profits made in one year out of one district, to help you to form some notion of those made in three years out of the whole of Sicily. But it is no long tale I have to tell. The men of Aetna have come to us in person, and brought us official statements in their own hands. They have informed you

quid lucelli fecerit homo non malus, familiaris praetoris, Apronius. Id, quaeso, ex ipsorum testimonio cognoscite. — Recita. Testimonium Aetnensium. XLV. Quid ais? Dic, dic, quaeso, clarius, ut populus Romanus de suis vectigalibus, de suis aratoribus, de suis sociis atque amicis audiat. L̄ med., HS L̄.—Per deos immortales, unus ager uno anno trecenta milia mod. tritici et praeterea HS L̄ lucri dat Apronio! Tantone minoris decumae venierunt quam fuerunt, an, cum satis magno venissent, hic tantus tamen frumenti pecuniaeque numerus ab aratoribus per vim ablatus est? Utrum enim horum dixeris, in eo culpa
107 et crimen haerebit. Nam illud quidem non dices—quod utinam dicas!—ad Apronium non pervenisse tantum. Ita te non modo publicis tenebo sed etiam privatis aratorum pactionibus ac litteris ut intellegas non te diligentiorem in faciundis fuisse furtis quam me in deprehendendis. Hoc tu feres? hoc quisquam defendet? hoc hi, si aliter de te statuere voluerint, sustinebunt? uno adventu ex uno agro Q. Apronium, praeter eam quam dixi pecuniam numeratam, ccc
108 milia mod. tritici lucri nomine sustulisse? Quid? hoc Aetnenses soli dicunt? Immo etiam Centuripini, qui agri Aetnensis multo maximam partem possident; quorum legatis, hominibus nobilissimis, Androni et Artemoni, senatus ea mandata dedit quae publice ad civitatem ipsorum pertinebant; de iis iniuriis quas cives Centuripini non in suis sed in aliorum finibus

of the modest profits made by the worthy Apronius, our governor's intimate friend. Let their own evidence, if you please, put these facts before you.—Read it, please. *The evidence is read.* XLV. What is that you said? Louder, please, speak louder, that Rome may hear this story of Roman revenues, of Roman farmers, of Roman allies and friends.—50,000 bushels, £500! God help us! One area in one year pays Apronius a bonus of 300,000 pecks of wheat and £500 as well! Were those tithes sold for all that amount below their value? Or were they sold dear enough, and all this corn and all this money then torn forcibly from the farmers? Make which reply you will: be it this or that, the charge against you is unanswerable. For one thing at least you will 107
not say—I could wish you would—that this vast sum did not reach Apronius: I will prove *that* fact so surely, by displaying the contracts and accounts of corporate bodies and private persons, that you will find me no less thorough in detecting your thefts than you yourself were in committing them. And can you face that fact? can anyone justify that fact? can this Court—even should it incline to mercy—resist the force of that fact? the fact that on a single visit, from a single area, Quintus Apronius carried off as a bonus, besides the amount in cash that I have stated, no less than 300,000 pecks of wheat? And further: is 108
that fact asserted by Aetna only? On the contrary, by Centuripa too, whose citizens are tenants of the great bulk of the Aetna land. The instructions given by the senate of that town to its eminent representatives, Andro and Artemo, were indeed confined to what concerned its corporate interests as a community; the senate and people of that town would not send

acceperant senatus et populus Centuripinus legatos noluit mittere; ipsi aratores Centuripini, qui numerus est in Sicilia maximus hominum honestissimorum et locupletissimorum, tres legatos, cives suos, delegerunt ut eorum testimonio non unius agri sed prope totius Siciliae calamitates cognosceretis. Arant enim tota Sicilia fere Centuripini, et hoc in te certiores gravioresque testes sunt, quod ceterae civitates suis solum incommodis commoventur, Centuripini, quod in omnium fere finibus possessiones habent, etiam ceterarum civitatum damna ac detrimenta senserunt.

109 XLVI. Verum, uti dixi, ratio certa est Aetnensium et publicis et privatis litteris consignata. Meae diligentiae pensum magis in Leontino agro est exigendum propter hanc causam, quod ipsi Leontini publice non sane me multum adiuverunt; neque enim eos isto praetore haec decumanorum iniuriae laeserunt, potius etiam, iudices, adiuverunt. Mirum fortasse hoc vobis aut incredibile videatur, in tantis aratorum incommodis Leontinos, qui principes rei frumentariae fuerint, expertes incommodorum atque iniuriarum fuisse. Hoc causae est, iudices, quod in agro Leontino praeter unam Mnasistrati familiam glebam Leontinorum possidet nemo. Itaque Mnasistrati, hominis honestissimi atque optimi viri, testimonium,

representatives to deal with the wrongs that their fellow-citizens had sustained outside their own frontiers. But the individual farmers of that town, who form a very large, respected, prosperous group of persons in Sicily, sent three representatives, from among their fellow-citizens, to give evidence before you, and to reveal thus to you the evil plight not of one area but of nearly all Sicily. For nearly all Sicily has Centuripans among its farmers; and their evidence against Verres is all the more telling and conclusive, because the other places are roused by their own troubles only, whereas these people, being tenants of land in the territories of nearly all the towns, have also been sensitive to the losses and injuries sustained by all those others.

XLVI. However, as I have observed, the facts concerning Aetna are certain; they are vouched for by documentary evidence official and personal. In dealing with the land of Leontini, a larger measure of earnest care must be required of me; for, I must confess, the people of Leontini have not, as a corporate body, helped me a great deal. The fact is that during Verres' governorship these outrages committed by the collectors have done them no harm, but rather have actually helped them. You may think it strange, gentlemen, or even incredible, that, when the farmers have been suffering so heavily, the people of Leontini, that headquarters of corn-growing, should have suffered no loss or injustice. But the reason is this, that with the exception of the family of Mnasistratus not one of the citizens is the occupant of one clod of earth anywhere in the city's territory. And therefore, while you have heard, gentlemen, the evidence of the respected and excel- 109

iudices, audistis: ceteros Leontinos, quibus non modo Apronius in agris sed ne tempestas quidem ulla nocere potuit, expectare nolite. Etenim non modo incommodi nihil ceperunt, sed etiam in Apronianis illis rapinis in quaestu sunt compendioque versati.

110 Quapropter, quoniam me Leontina civitas atque legatio propter eam quam dixi causam defecit, mihimet ineunda ratio et via reperiunda est qua ad Apronii quaestum, sive adeo qua ad istius ingentem immanemque praedam possim pervenire. Agri Leontini decumae tertio anno venierunt tritici medimnum $\overline{\text{xxxvi}}$, hoc est tritici mod. cc et xvi milibus. Magno, iudices, magno; neque enim hoc possum negare. Itaque necesse est aut damnum aut certe non magnum lucrum fecisse decumanos; hoc enim solet usu venire

111 iis qui magno redemerunt. Quid si ostendo in hac una emptione lucri fieri tritici mod. c, quid si cc, quid si ccc, quid si cccc milia? dubitabitis etiam cui ista tanta praeda quaesita sit? Iniquum me esse quispiam dicet, qui ex lucri magnitudine coniecturam capiam furti atque praedae. Quid? si doceo, iudices, eos qui $\overline{\text{cccc}}$ mod. lucri faciunt damnum facturos fuisse, si tua iniquitas, si tui ex cohorte recuperatores non intercederent, num quis poterit in tanto lucro tantaque iniquitate dubitare quin propter improbitatem tuam tam magnos quaestus feceris, propter magnitudinem quaestus improbus esse volueris?

lent Mnasistratus, you are not to expect to see the rest of the citizens here, who cannot suffer agriculturally even from the weather, let alone from Apronius. Indeed, they have not only suffered no harm from those Apronian forays; they have been by way of making a positive profit out of them.

Since, therefore, for the reason given, no support, 110
no representatives from the city of Leontini have come to help me, I must devise my own plan, and discover a way for myself of arriving at the facts about the gains made by Apronius, or rather, about our governor's gigantic and monstrous depredations. In his third year of office, the tithes on that district were sold for 36,000 bushels; that is, for 216,000 pecks. A high price, gentlemen, a high price: I certainly cannot deny that. It must follow that the collectors who paid it have lost, or at least made very little by it: that is the usual fate of those who pay a high price. What then if I prove that on 111
this single transaction the buyer made a profit of one hundred—of two hundred—of three hundred—of four hundred thousand pecks of wheat? can you feel doubtful any longer whose were the coffers into which the proceeds of this vast robbery went? It may be thought unfair to argue from the size of the profit to the fact of theft and robbery. Well then, gentlemen, what if I prove that those who gained 400,000 pecks would have *lost* but for the intervention of your gross injustice, Verres, and of your Court of Claims chosen from your staff? In the face of such profits and such injustice, will it not be at once clear to everyone that your wickedness was the cause of your vast profits, and the vastness of the profits the motive of your wickedness?

112 XLVII. Quo modo igitur hoc assequar, iudices, ut sciam quantum lucri factum sit? Non ex Apronii tabulis, quas ego cum conquirerem non inveni, et cum in ius ipsum eduxi expressi ut conficere se tabulas negaret. Si mentiebatur, quam ob rem removebat, si hae tabulae nihil tibi erant offuturae? si omnino nullas confecerat litteras, ne id quidem satis significat illum non suum negotium gessisse? Ea est enim ratio decumanorum ut sine plurimis litteris confici non possit; singula enim nomina aratorum, et cum singulis pactiones decumanorum, litteris persequi et conficere necesse est.

Iugera professi sunt aratores omnes imperio atque instituto tuo; non opinor quemquam minus esse professum quam quantum arasset, cum tot cruces, tot supplicia, tot ex cohorte recuperatores proponerentur. In iugero Leontini agri medimnum fere tritici seritur perpetua atque aequabili satione; ager efficit cum octavo, bene ut agatur; verum ut omnes di adiuvent, cum decumo. Quod si quando accidit, tum fit ut tantum decumae sit quantum severis, hoc est ut, quot iugera sint sata, totidem medimna de-
113 cumae debeantur. Hoc cum ita esset, primum illud dico, pluribus milibus medimnum venisse decumas agri Leontini, quam quot milia iugerum sata essent

XLVII. How, therefore, gentlemen, am I to suc- 112
ceed in finding out the amount of the profit made? Not from the accounts of Apronius; these I failed to find when I searched for them, and when I haled the man himself before the magistrate, I extorted from him the statement that he had kept none.—If he was lying, why had he got rid of those accounts, unless they were likely to tell against yourself? And if he had in fact kept no accounts at all, is that of itself not sufficient indication that he had not been carrying on his own private business?—For, gentlemen, the business of tithe-collection is such that it cannot be managed without very full accounts. It is essential to make and keep a full record in writing of the accounts kept with each several farmer, and the several agreements made by each with the collector.—

Well, all the farmers made returns of their acreage under crop, in obedience to your orders and regulations: and it is not likely that any of them returned it as less than it was, with the prospect, if he did, of all those tortures, and punishments, and trials by the members of your staff.—Now on the soil of the Leontini district it is the regular and unbroken practice to sow about one bushel of seed wheat per acre; and the land gives a yield of eightfold, under favourable circumstances; or tenfold, by the special blessing of heaven. In the latter case, when it occurs, the result is that the tithe is the same as the amount of seed-corn sown; in other words, for
every acre sown, one bushel is due as tithe. That 113
being so, the first thing I have to say is this: that the tithes on the Leontini area were sold for more thousands of bushels than there were thousands of

in agro Leontino. Quodsi fieri non poterat ut plus quam x medimna ex iugero exararent, medimnum autem ex iugero decumano dari oportebat cum ager, id quod perraro evenit, cum decumo extulisset, quae erat ratio decumanis, siquidem decumae ac non bona venibant aratorum, ut pluribus aliquanto medimnis decumas emerent, quam iugera erant sata? In Leontino iugerum subscriptio ac professio non est plus $\overline{\text{xxx}}$; decumae $\overline{\text{xxxvi}}$ medimnum venierunt. XLVIII. Erravit aut potius insanivit Apronius? Immo tum insanisset, si aratoribus id quod deberent licitum esset et non quod Apronius imperasset necesse fuisset dare.

114 Si ostendo minus tribus medimnis in iugerum neminem dedisse decumae, concedes, opinor, ut cum decumo fructus arationis perceptus sit, neminem minus tribus decumis dedisse. Atque hoc in beneficii loco petitum est ab Apronio, ut in iugera singula ternis medimnis decidere liceret. Nam cum a multis quaterna, etiam quina exigerentur, multis autem non modo granum nullum, sed ne paleae quidem ex omni fructu atque ex annuo labore relinquerentur, tum aratores Centuripini, qui numerus in agro Leontino maximus est, unum in locum convenerunt, hominem suae civitatis in primis honestum ac nobilem, Andronem Centuripinum, legarunt ad Apronium, eundem quem hoc tempore ad hoc iudicium legatum et testem Centuripina civitas misit—ut is apud eum causam aratorum ageret, ab eoque peteret ut ab aratoribus Centuripinis ne amplius in iugera singula quam terna

[a] *i.e.*, citizens of Centuripa, tenants of Leontini landowners.

[b] Or possibly "who are the majority of the farmers."

acres sown in the Leontini area. Now if it was impossible for that land to yield more than ten bushels an acre, and if one bushel an acre would be the amount due as tithe if—as very seldom happens—there were a tenfold yield, what motive could any sensible collector have—if it *was* the tithes, and not the farmers' property, that was being offered for sale—in buying those tithes for appreciably more bushels than there were acres under crop? The signed return of acreage in the district was at most 30,000 acres: the tithes were sold for 36,000 bushels. XLVIII. Was Apronius out of his reckoning—or rather, was he out of his senses? He was not: but he would have been, if the farmers had been allowed to pay only what they legally should, instead of being obliged to pay what Apronius demanded.

Now if I shall prove that none of them paid as 114
tithe less than three bushels an acre, it will not be denied, I presume, that, even if a tenfold harvest was achieved, none paid less than three tithes. As a matter of fact, Apronius was asked as a favour to consent to a settlement at three bushels an acre. Many men were being compelled to pay four or even five bushels an acre; many were being left with not one grain of corn, nay, with not even the chaff, out of their whole harvest and the hard work of a whole year. Meanwhile, the farmers of Centuripa,[a] who are very numerous[b] in the Leontini area, held a meeting, and deputed their fellow-citizen Andron, by birth and reputation one of their foremost men—this is the Andron whom Centuripa has sent to give evidence as its representative at this trial—to wait on Apronius and plead with him on the farmers' behalf, and to beg him not to exact from Centuripan farmers more than

115 medimna exigeret. Hoc vix ab Apronio in summo beneficio pro iis qui etiam tum incolumes erant impetratum est. Id cum impetrabatur, hoc videlicet impetrabatur, ut pro singulis decumis ternas decumas dare liceret Quodsi tua res non ageretur, a te potius postularent ne amplius quam singulas quam ab Apronio ut ne plus quam ternas decumas darent. Nunc, ut hoc tempore ea quae regie seu potius tyrannice statuit in aratores Apronius praetermittam, neque eos appellem a quibus omne frumentum eripuit et quibus nihil non modo de fructu sed ne de bonis quidem suis reliqui fecit, ex hisce ternis medimnis, quod beneficii gratiaeque causa concessit, quid lucri fiat cognoscite.

116 XLIX. Professio est agri Leontini ad iugerum $\overline{\text{xxx}}$; haec sunt ad tritici medimnum $\overline{\text{xc}}$, id est mod. $\overline{\text{DXXXX}}$; deductis tritici mod. $\overline{\text{CCXVI}}$, quanti decumae venierunt, reliqua sunt tritici $\overline{\text{CCCXXIIII}}$. Adde totius summae DXXXX milium mod. tres quinquagesimas; fit tritici mod. $\overline{\text{XXXII}}$CCCC (ab omnibus enim ternae praeterea quinquagesimae exigebantur); sunt haec iam ad $\overline{\text{CCCLX}}$ mod. tritici. At ego $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$ lucri facta esse dixeram; non enim duco in hac ratione eos quibus ternis medimnis non est licitum decidere. Verum ut hac ipsa ratione summam mei promissi compleam, ad singula medimna multi HS binos, multi HS singulos semis accessionis cogebantur dare; qui minimum,

[a] On what pretext? Cicero says so little of this that it would seem to have some precedent. Perhaps it was a safety margin to allow for a proportion of bad grain.

[b] More exactly, 356,400.

three bushels an acre. It was only with difficulty, 115 and as the greatest of favours, that they got Apronius to grant their petition so far as concerned those of them who were even then intact. And the petition thus granted, be it noted, was a petition to be allowed to pay three tithes instead of one!—Why, had all this not been for your own benefit, they would have petitioned *you* that they might not pay more than one tithe—not Apronius that they might not pay more than three.—And now, to pass over for the moment the royal—or rather the tyrannical—measures of Apronius against those farmers; and to make no reference to those whom he stripped of all their corn, or those whom he left not merely with none of their harvest but with none of their belongings, let me show you the profit made out of these payments of three bushels an acre that he so kindly allowed as a favour.

XLIX. The return of acreage under crop in the 116 district was about 30,000 acres. This gives us 90,000 bushels, or 540,000 pecks, of wheat. Subtract 216,000 pecks, the price for which the tithes were sold, and we have 324,000 pecks. Add to this 6 per cent of the total amount of 540,000 pecks, which comes to 32,400 pecks—for an additional 6 per cent was exacted from everyone[a]—and we now have a total of nearly 360,000 pecks.[b] Well, but did I not say that the profit made came to 400,000? Yes: for in the above reckoning I have not taken account of those who were *not* allowed to get off with 3 bushels an acre. However, to make up the promised total without taking this into account, let me tell you that cash fees were exacted as well, 2 sesterces a bushel from many farmers, 1½ from many others, and 1

singulos nummos. Minimum ut sequamur, quoniam $\overline{\text{xc}}$ med. duximus, accedant eo novo pessimoque
117 exemplo HS $\overline{\text{xc}}$. Hic mihi etiam dicere audebit magno se decumas vendidisse, cum ex eodem agro dimidio ipse plus abstulerit quam populo Romano miserit? $\overline{\text{ccxvi}}$ agri Leontini decumas vendidisti; si ex lege, magno; si ut lex esset libido tua, si ut quae dimidiae essent, decumae vocarentur, parvo vendidisti; multo enim pluris fructus annui Siciliae venire potuerunt, si id te senatus aut populus Romanus facere voluisset. Etenim decumae saepe tanti venierunt, cum lege Hieronica venirent, quanti nunc lege Verria venierunt. Cedo mihi C. Norbani decumas venditas. C. NORBANI DECUMAE VENDITAE AGRI LEONTINI. Atque tum neque iudicium de modo iugerum dabatur, neque erat Artemidorus Cornelius recuperator, neque ab aratore magistratus Siculus tantum exigebat quantum decumanus ediderat, nec beneficium petebatur ab decumano ut in iugera singula ternis medimnis decidere liceret, nec nummorum accessionem cogebatur arator dare nec ternas quinquagesimas frumenti addere; et tamen populo Romano magnus frumenti numerus mittebatur.

118 L. Quid vero istae sibi quinquagesimae, quid porro nummorum accessiones volunt? quo id iure atque adeo quo id potius more fecisti? Nummos dabat

[a] As before, the *accessio* was probably demanded as an inspector's fee or the like. At 15 sesterces a bushel, it is equivalent to 6000 bushels or 36,000 pecks: and the 400,000 pecks are very nearly accounted for.

[b] The reference is to the years when one or more additional tithes were exacted, as during the crisis of the Social War, when Norbanus was consul.

from those who came off most lightly: and to take the lowest figure, since we are reckoning 90,000 bushels as the amount, we must add 90,000 sesterces (£900) for this villainous innovation.[a] And now will the 117
man still dare to tell me that he sold the tithes for a high price, when he has appropriated for himself double the amount that he sent from the same area for the use of the Roman people?—You sold the Leontini tithes for 216,000 pecks. A high price, if your methods had been legal; but if they were such as to make your own wanton pleasure the test of legality—such as to make the nominal 10 per cent into 50 per cent—then the price was a low price, for the year's harvest in Sicily could have been sold for a much higher price, had the Senate and People of Rome bidden you do thus.[b]—And in fact the tithes have often been sold for as much, under the code of Hiero, as they have now been sold for under the code of Verres.—Let us have, if you please, the record of tithe-sales under Gaius Norbanus. *The statement is read.*—And yet men were not then prosecuted for the returns of acreage they made; nor was Cornelius Artemidorus a judge of claims; nor had the local magistrate to make the farmer pay over whatever amount of corn the collector announced was due; nor was the collector entreated to be so very kind as to agree to a settlement at three bushels an acre; nor was the farmer compelled to pay additional fees in cash or supplementary percentages of corn. And in spite of that, plenty of corn used to be sent for the use of Rome.

L. What, too, is the meaning of those percentages 118
and those additional fees in cash? By what legal right, or indeed by what moral right, did you exact

arator. Quo modo aut unde? qui, si largissimus esse vellet, cumulatiore mensura uteretur, ut antea solebant facere in decumis, cum aequa lege et condicione venibant. Is nummum dabat? unde? de frumento? quasi habuisset te praetore quod venderet. De vivo igitur aliquid erat resecandum, ut esset unde Apronio ad illos fructus arationum hoc corollarium nummorum adderetur. Iam id porro utrum libentes an inviti dabant? Libentes? amabant, credo, Apronium. Inviti? qua re nisi vi et malo cogebantur?

Iam iste homo amentissimus in vendundis decumis nummorum faciebat accessiones ad singulas decumas, neque multum; bina aut terna milia nummum addebat; fiunt per triennium HS D milia fortasse. Hoc neque exemplo cuiusquam neque iure ullo fecit, neque eam pecuniam rettulit, neque hoc parvum crimen quem ad modum defensurus sit homo quisquam umquam excogitabit.

119 Quod cum ita sit, audes dicere te magno decumas vendidisse, cum sit perspicuum te bona fortunasque aratorum non populi Romani sed tui quaestus causa vendidisse? Ut si qui vilicus ex eo fundo qui sestertia dena meritasset, excisis arboribus ac venditis, demptis tegulis, instrumento, pecore abalienato, domino xx milia nummum pro x miserit, sibi alia praeterea centum confecerit, primo dominus ignarus

these? Cash from a farmer—how and whence did he get it? he might heap up his measure perhaps, if he would be especially open-handed—as was common enough once in paying tithes, when those tithes were sold on fair terms and conditions—but pay money? from what source? from the sale of his corn? as if he had had any corn to sell, when you were governor! Oh well, he must break off a bit from his capital, to provide for a cash gratuity for Apronius in addition to his harvest from the farms. And what is more, did they pay that willingly or reluctantly? Willingly? Well—of course they were fond of Apronius. Reluctantly? Then what, unless it were brutal violence, made them pay it?

I may add that this lunatic charged money fees at the time of selling the tithes, so much for each district. Not a large sum: £20 or £30 each: perhaps £5000 in all for the three years. He had no precedent and no legal right behind him in this; and he never rendered any account of these sums; nor will anyone ever be able to guess how the man is going to defend himself against this little charge.—

In the face of all this do you dare to tell us that you sold the tithes for a high price, when it is plain as daylight that what you sold was the farmers' property and livelihood, and that you sold them not for the profit of the Roman nation but for your own? —It is as if the manager of a farm that was rich enough to bring in a hundred pounds a year were to cut down and sell the timber, remove the roofing, sell off the equipment and live stock, and then send the owner two hundred pounds instead of a hundred, while pocketing another thousand for himself. The owner, knowing nothing of the damage done to him, 119

incommodi sui gaudeat vilicoque delectetur, quod tanto plus sibi mercedis ex fundo refectum sit, deinde, cum audierit eas res quibus fundi fructus et cultura continetur amotas et venditas, summo supplicio vilicum afficiat et secum male actum putet: item populus Romanus, cum audit pluris decumas vendidisse C. Verrem quam innocentissimum hominem cui iste successit, C. Sacerdotem, putat se bonum in arationibus fructibusque suis habuisse custodem ac vilicum; cum senserit istum omne instrumentum aratorum, omnia subsidia vectigalium vendidisse, omnem spem posteritatis avaritia sua sustulisse, arationes et agros vectigales vastasse atque exinanisse, ipsum maximos quaestus praedasque fecisse, intelleget secum actum esse pessime, istum autem summo supplicio dignum existimabit.

120 LI. Unde ergo hoc intellegi potest? Ex hoc maxime, quod ager decumanus provinciae Siciliae propter istius avaritiam desertus est. Neque id solum accidit, ut minus multis iugis ararent si qui in agris remanserunt, sed etiam ut permulti locupletes homines, magni et navi aratores, agros latos ac fertiles desererent totasque arationes derelinquerent. Id adeo sciri facillime potest ex litteris publicis civitatum, propterea quod lege Hieronica numerus aratorum quotannis apud magistratus publice subscribitur.

[a] Literally "went on ploughing with far fewer yoke (of oxen)."

would be much pleased at first, and delighted with his manager for making his farm bring in so large a return. But when he heard presently how everything on which the fertility and cultivation of his farm depended had been taken off and sold, he would think himself badly treated, and would punish that manager most severely. Not otherwise does the Roman nation, when told that Gaius Verres has sold the tithes for more than his upright predecessor Gaius Sacerdos, imagine itself to have had a good caretaker and manager in charge of its cornlands and its harvests. But when it is fully aware that Verres has sold all the farmers' gear and all our sources of revenue; that his greed has bereft us of all hope for the years to come; that he has converted our revenue-producing farms and fields into a barren and empty desert; and that by his robberies he has made vast profits for himself: then it will recognize that it has been treated most foully, and will hold the man to deserve the severest punishment.

LI. How, you may ask, can the truth of what I say be recognized? 120 Most clearly from the fact that, owing to Verres' greed, the tithe-paying lands of the province of Sicily were deserted. What happened was not merely that those who did stay on their land continued their farming on a much smaller scale,[a] but that a great many well-to-do men, the active cultivators of extensive properties, abandoned their broad and fertile acres, and left their farms completely derelict. The truth of this statement can be confirmed with ease from the public records of the various communities, because by a law of the code of Hiero an official return of the number of farmers is made to the local magistrates every year.

Recita tandem quot acceperit aratores agri Leontini Verres. LXXXIIII. Quot anno tertio profiteantur. XXXII. Duo et quinquaginta aratores ita video deiectos ut iis ne vicarii quidem successerint. Quot aratores adveniente te fuerunt agri Mutycensis? Videamus ex litteris publicis. CLXXXVII. Quid? anno tertio? LXXXVI. Centum et unum aratores unus ager istius iniuria desiderat, atque adeo nostra res publica, quoniam illa populi Romani vectigalia sunt, hunc tot patrum familias numerum desiderat et reposcit. Ager Herbitensis primo anno habuit aratores CCLII, tertio CXX; hinc CXXXII patres familias extorres profugerunt. Agyrinensis ager — quorum hominum, quam honestorum, quam locupletium!—CCL aratores habuit primo anno praeturae tuae. Quid? tertio anno? LXXX, quem ad modum legatos Agyrinenses
121 recitare ex publicis litteris audistis. LII. Pro di immortales, si ex provincia tota CLXX aratores eiecisses, possesne severis iudicibus salvus esse? Unus ager Agyrinensis CLXX aratoribus inanior cum sit, vos coniecturam totius provinciae nonne facietis? Atque hoc peraeque in omni agro decumano reperietis; quibus aliquid tamen reliqui fuerit ex magno patrimonio, eos in agris minore instrumento, minus multis

—And now, please, read us the return of the number of farmers in the Leontini district when Verres arrived in Sicily. 84. Now the number who returned themselves in his third year. 32.—Fifty-two farmers, we observe, cast out in such a fashion that nobody so much as came in to take their places.—How many farmers were there in the Mutyca district when you were on your way to Sicily? Let us consult the official record: 187. Next, how many in your third year? 86.—Through the oppression of Verres, one single district mourns the loss of one hundred and one farmers: nay, since it is the revenues of the Roman nation that we speak of, it is our own country itself mourns the loss of all these men and their families, and demands their restoration. The Herbita district had 252 farmers in his first year, 120 in his third: 132 of its householders left their homes and fled elsewhere.—The farmers of the Agyrium district—fine, estimable, substantial fellows they are—numbered 250 in the first year of your governorship. And now, how many in your third year? 80—as you, gentlemen, have heard from the representatives of Agyrium, who read the statement from their official records.—LII. God preserve 121
us! were it all Sicily from which you had thus ejected 170 farmers, could a strict and just Court acquit you?—It is the one district of Agyrium, gentlemen, that is the emptier by 170 farmers: this will enable you to judge what befell Sicily as a whole. And you will find this state of things repeated throughout the tithe-paying areas. You will find some men left behind, men who even now have been left with some fraction of the wealth they inherited; their equipment is reduced, their oxen

fugis remansisse, quod metuebant, si decessissent, ne reliquas fortunas omnes amitterent; quibus autem iste nihil reliqui quod perderent fecerat, eos plane non solum ex agris verum etiam ex civitatibus suis profugisse. Illi ipsi, qui remanserant, vix decuma pars aratorum, relicturi agros omnes erant, nisi ad eos Metellus Roma litteras misisset se decumas lege Hieronica venditurum, et nisi ab iis hoc petivisset, ut sererent quam plurimum; quod illi semper sua causa fecerant, cum eos nemo rogaret, quam diu intellegebant sese sibi et populo Romano, non Verri et Apronio serere, impendere, laborare.

122 Iam vero, iudices, si Siculorum fortunas neglegitis, si quem ad modum socii populi Romani a magistratibus nostris tractentur non laboratis, at vos communem populi Romani causam suscipite atque defendite. Eiectos aratores esse dico, agros vectigales vexatos atque exinanitos a Verre, populatam vastatamque provinciam. Haec omnia doceo litteris civitatum, ostendo testimoniis et publicis honestissimarum civitatum et privatis primariorum virorum. LIII. Quid vultis amplius? Num expectatis dum L. Metellus, is qui multos in istum testes imperio et potestate deterruit, idem absens de istius scelere, improbitate,

are far fewer than they were; but they stayed, fearing to lose, if they went, all the means of livelihood yet left them. But you will find that those whom Verres had left with nothing to lose fled not only from their farms but from their countries. Even those who remained on their farms, a bare tenth of the whole number, intended to go, and would have gone, had not Metellus told them in a letter from Rome that he would sell the tithes as required by the code of Hiero, and entreated them to sow as freely as possible—as they always had done on their own account, without anyone's asking them to do it, so long as they could feel that they were sowing seed, and spending money, and working hard, to benefit themselves and the Roman nation instead of Verres and Apronius.

And now, gentlemen, though you pay no heed to 122
these Sicilians' fate, and the treatment of Roman allies by Roman magistrates cause you no concern, yet I bid you accept the task of protecting the common interests of the Roman nation. I assert that those farmers have been driven out by Verres, that the lands that produce our revenues have been ravaged and converted into desert, that our province has been despoiled and devastated. I establish the truth of these assertions by the written statements of the towns, I demonstrate it by the official evidence of the most important of these towns and by the private evidence of the most notable individuals. LIII. What more would you have? Do you expect that Lucius Metellus, who used his official authority to deter many other persons from giving evidence against Verres, should nevertheless himself testify from Sicily to Verres' shameless and criminal wicked-

audacia testimonium dicat? Non opinor. At is optime qui successit isti potuit cognoscere. Ita est; verum amicitia impeditur. At debet vos certiores
123 facere quo pacto se habeat provincia. Debet; verum tamen non cogitur. Num quis in Verrem L. Metelli testimonium requirit? Nemo. Num quis postulat? Non opinor. Quid? si testimonio L. Metelli ac litteris haec omnia vera esse docebo, quid dicetis? utrum Metellum falsum scribere an amicum laedendi esse cupidum an praetorem quem ad modum provincia adfecta sit nescire? Recita litteras L. Metelli, quas ad Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum consules, quas ad M. Mummium praetorem, quas ad quaestores urbanos misit. EPISTULA L. METELLI. DECUMAS FRUMENTI LEGE HIERONICA VENDIDI. Cum scribit se lege Hieronica vendidisse, quid scribit? Ita se vendidisse ut omnes praeter Verrem. Cum scribit se lege Hieronica vendidisse, quid scribit? Se per istum erepta Siculis maiorum nostrorum beneficia, ius ipsorum, condicionem societatis, amicitiae, foederum reddidisse. Dicit quanti cuiusque agri decumas vendiderit; deinde quid scribit? Recita de epistula
124 reliqua. SUMMA VI DATA EST A ME OPERA UT QUAM PLURIMO DECUMAS VENDEREM. Cur igitur, Metelle, non ita magno vendidisti? Quia desertas arationes, inanes agros, provinciam miseram perditamque offen-

ness? Presumably not. Yet Verres' successor, it may be argued, has had exceptional opportunities for learning of it. He has: but personal friendship ties his hands. Still, you urge, he ought to inform you of the present state of the province. He ought: 123
but at the same time he is not compelled to do so. Does anyone wish that Metellus had given evidence against Verres? No. Or demand that he should? No, I take it. Well, then, if I confirm the truth of all that I have said by evidence that Metellus gives, by a letter that he wrote, what will you say? That what he wrote is false, or that he was anxious to damage his friend, or that as governor he was unaware of the ruin of his province?—Read us the letter of Lucius Metellus, addressed to the consuls Gnaeus Pompeius and Marcus Crassus, to the praetor Marcus Mummius, and to the city quaestors. *The letter is read: "I have sold the corn-tithes in accordance with the code of Hiero. . . ."*—When he says in this letter that he has sold the tithes in accordance with the code of Hiero, what is he saying? That he has sold them as all governors have sold them—except Verres. What, I ask again, is he saying when he uses these words? That he has given back to the Sicilians what Verres wrenched from them: our ancestors' benefactions, their own legal rights, their status of alliance and friendship established by treaty. He tells us the price for which he sold the tithes of each district; and what does he say next?—Read us the rest of the letter. "*I have exerted myself to* 124
the utmost to secure the highest price possible for them." —Then why, Metellus, did you secure so modest a price for them? Because you found the farms abandoned, the countryside stripped bare, the province

disti. Quid? id ipsum quod satum est qua ratione quisquam qui sereret inventus est? Recita. Litteras ait se misisse et confirmasse, suam se interposuisse auctoritatem; tantum modo aratoribus Metellus obsides non dedit se in nulla re Verri similem futurum. At quid est tandem in quo se elaborasse dicit? Recita. UT ARATORES QUI RELIQUI ERANT QUAM PLURIMUM SERERENT. Qui reliqui? quid hoc est "reliqui?" quo ex bello, qua ex vastitate? Quaenam in Sicilia tanta clades aut quod bellum tam diuturnum, tam calamitosum te praetore versatum est, ut is qui tibi successerit "reliquos" aratores collegisse et recreasse videatur?

125 LIV. Cum bellis Carthaginiensibus Sicilia vexata est, et post nostra patrumque memoria cum bis in ea provincia magnae fugitivorum copiae versatae sunt, tamen aratorum interitio facta nulla est. Tum sementi prohibita aut messe amissa fructus annuus interibat; tamen incolumis numerus manebat dominorum atque aratorum; tum qui M. Laevino aut P. Rupilio aut M'. Aquilio praetores in eam provinciam successerant, aratores "reliquos" non colligebant. Tantone plus Verres cum Apronio provinciae Siciliae calamitatis importavit quam aut Hasdrubal cum Poenorum exercitu aut Athenio cum fugitivorum maximis copiis, ut temporibus illis, simul atque

[a] In 210 B.C.

[b] After the two Slave Wars.

ruined and miserable. And further: how was anyone found to sow what corn was sown?—Read on, please.—He tells us that he wrote to the farmers and encouraged them, that he brought his official power into play. Metellus has all but given hostages to those farmers to guarantee his behaviour unlike that of Verres in every respect. But what is it, pray, over which he tells us he has taken such elaborate pains?—Read further. "*That the surviving farmers should sow as much corn as possible.*"—"The surviving farmers"? What does "surviving" mean? What war or devastation do they survive? What horrible disaster, what prolonged and calamitous war has been visiting Sicily while you were its governor, that your successor should make us feel that he has pulled together, and inspired with fresh life, the "surviving" farmers?

LIV. In the days when Sicily was laid waste by 125
the wars with Carthage, and on the two later occasions when, as our fathers and ourselves remember, great bands of escaped slaves roamed about the province, there was nevertheless no ruin of the farmers. At such times, sowing would be prevented, or the harvest lost, and there would be no return for that year's toil; yet the total number of householders and farmers remained intact, and the praetors who on those occasions succeeded Marcus Laevinus [a] or Publius Rupilius [b] or Manius Aquilius [b] as governors of the province had not to pull the "surviving" farmers together. Did Verres and his lieutenant Apronius bring into our province of Sicily so much worse horrors than Hasdrubal with his Carthaginian army, or than Athenio with his immense bands of escaped slaves, that whereas in those earlier times,

hostis superatus esset, ager araretur omnis neque aratori praetor per litteras supplicaret neque eum praesens oraret ut quam plurimum sereret: nunc autem ne post abitum quidem huius importunissimae pestis quisquam reperiretur qui sua voluntate araret, pauci essent reliqui qui L. Metelli auctoritate in agros atque ad suum larem familiarem redirent?

126 His te litteris, homo audacissime atque amentissime, iugulatum esse non sentis? Non vides, cum is qui tibi successit aratores "reliquos" appellet, hoc eum diserte scribere, reliquos hos esse non ex bello neque ex aliqua eius modi calamitate, sed ex tuo scelere, importunitate, avaritia, crudelitate? Recita cetera. TAMEN PRO EO UT TEMPORIS DIFFICULTAS ARATORUMQUE PENURIA TULIT. "Aratorum" inquit "penuria." Si ego accusator totiens eadem de re dicerem, vererer ne animos vestros offenderem, iudices. Clamat Metellus NISI LITTERAS MISISSEM. Non est satis. NISI PRAESENS CONFIRMASSEM. Ne id quidem satis est. RELIQUOS inquit ARATORES. Reliquos? prope lugubri verbo calamitatem provinciae
127 Siciliae significat; addit ARATORUM PENURIA. LV. Exspectate etiam, iudices, exspectate, si potestis, auctoritatem accusationis meae. Dico aratores istius avaritia eiectos, scribit Metellus "reliquos" ab se esse confirmatos. Dico agros relictos arationesque

once the enemy was beaten, farming began again everywhere, and the governor did not write letters of entreaty to the farmer, nor beseech him in person, to sow his land as freely as he could: yet now, even after the departure of this calamitous monster, not one farmer was found who resumed work of his own accord, and the survivors were few whom the authority of Metellus induced to go back to their farms and their own hearths and homes?

Can you not feel, you unprincipled madman, how 126
this letter is like a knife at your throat? When your successor speaks of "surviving" farmers, can you not see what his letter expressly signifies—that these men are survivors not of war nor of any similar visitation, but of your own cruel wickedness and pitiless greed?—Read the rest of the letter, please. "*However, so far as the difficulties of the situation and the scarcity of the farmers allowed* . . ."—"The scarcity of the farmers," he says. Gentlemen, if I myself, the prosecutor, were to refer to the same point as often as this, I should be afraid of your finding me monotonous. "Had I not written" cries Metellus—but that does not content him; and "had I not personally encouraged them"—but not even this is enough for him. "The surviving farmers," he writes, and describes the plight of Sicily by using a word of almost funereal gloom—and then he adds, "the scarcity of the farmers." LV. Insist, gentle- 127
men, insist, if you can, on further confirmation of the charge I bring. I tell you that the farmers have been driven out by Verres' greed—and Metellus writes that he has encouraged the farmers who "survive." I tell you that the fields have been abandoned and the farms left desolate—and Metellus

esse desertas, scribit Metellus aratorum esse "penuriam." Hoc cum scribit, illud ostendit, deiectos, fortunis omnibus expulsos esse populi Romani socios atque amicos. Quibus si qua calamitas propter istum salvis vectigalibus nostris accidisset, animum advertere tamen in eum vos oporteret, praesertim cum ea lege iudicaretis quae sociorum causa esset constituta; cum vero perditis profligatisque sociis vectigalia populi Romani sint deminuta, res frumentaria, commeatus, copiae, salus urbis atque exercituum nostrorum in posteritatem istius avaritia interierit, saltem populi Romani commoda respicite, si sociis fidelis-
128 simis prospicere non laboratis. Atque ut intellegatis ab isto prae lucro praedaque praesenti nec vectigalium nec posteritatis habitam esse rationem, cognoscite quid ad extremum scribat Metellus. In reliquum tamen tempus vectigalibus prospexi. In reliquum tempus vectigalibus ait se prospexisse. Non scriberet se vectigalibus prospexisse nisi hoc vellet ostendere, te vectigalia perdidisse. Quid enim erat quod vectigalibus prospiceret Metellus in decumis et in tota re frumentaria, si iste non vectigalia populi Romani quaestu suo pervertisset? Atque ipse Metellus, qui vectigalibus prospicit, qui "reliquos" aratores colligit, quid assequitur nisi hoc, ut arent si qui possunt, quibus aratrum saltem aliquod satelles

writes of the scarcity of the farmers, and in doing so signifies that these friends and allies of the Roman nation were driven forth, were expelled, from all they could call their own. Even had the occurrence of any disaster to such men as these by the fault of Verres left our revenues unimpaired, it would still be your duty to punish him, especially since the law under which you sit here to try him was made for such men's benefit. And as the ruin and beggary of our allies is attended by this loss of national revenue —as Verres' greed has for the years to come destroyed the growing of corn, destroyed the abundant supplies on which the life of our city and our armies must depend—then do you take heed for the interests of Rome, even though you be not concerned to provide for those of our loyal allies. And to convince 128
you that Verres, eager for the profit and plunder of the moment, has taken no thought for your revenues or for the days to come, I will tell you what Metellus writes towards the end of his letter. "*However, I have taken steps to secure the revenues for the future.*" He has taken steps, he says, to secure the revenues for the future.—He would not be saying that he had taken steps to secure the revenues unless he meant to show that you had wrecked those revenues.—Why should Metellus be taking steps to secure the revenues from the tithes, or from the growing of corn generally, unless Verres had diverted the revenues of the nation into his own coffers? And Metellus himself, who is thus "taking steps to secure the revenue," who is pulling together the "surviving" farmers—Metellus aims at nothing more than the resumption of farming by those who can do it, by those whom Verres' satellite Apronius

istius Apronius reliquum fecit, qui tamen in agris spe atque exspectatione Metelli remanserunt? Quid ceteri Siculi? quid ille maximus numerus aratorum qui non modo ex agris eiecti sunt, sed etiam ex civitatibus suis, ex provincia denique bonis fortunisque omnibus ereptis profugerunt, qua ratione ii revocabuntur? Quot praetorum innocentia sapientiaque opus est ut illa aratorum multitudo aliquando in suis agris ac sedibus collocetur?

129 LVI. Ac ne miremini tantam multitudinem profugisse quantam ex litteris publicis aratorumque professionibus cognovistis, scitote tantam acerbitatem istius, tantum scelus in aratores fuisse—incredibile est dictu, iudices, sed et factum et tota Sicilia pervagatum—ut homines propter iniurias licentiamque decumanorum mortem sibi ipsi consciverint. Centuripinum Dioclem, hominem locupletem, suspendisse se constat quo die sit ei nuntiatum Apronium decumas redemisse. Tyracinum, principem civitatis, eadem ratione mortem oppetisse dixit apud vos homo nobilissimus, Archonidas Helorinus, cum audisset tantum decumanum professum esse ex edicto istius sibi deberi quantum ille bonis suis omnibus efficere non posset. Haec tu, tametsi omnium hominum dissolutissimus crudelissimusque semper fuisti, tamen numquam perpeterere, propterea quod ille gemitus luctusque provinciae ad tui capitis periculum per-

has left with at least something in the way of a "surviving" plough to farm with, by those who in spite of everything have stayed on their land, awaiting hopefully the advent of Metellus. And what of the rest? what of that immense number of farmers who not only have been driven from their land, but have fled from their districts, nay, from Sicily itself, bereft of all their possessions and livelihood? How shall *they* be brought back? How many honest and intelligent governors must we not have before all those many farmers are settled on their own land and in their own homes at last?

LVI. Now if it seems wonderful to you that the 129
number of these fugitives was as great as the official returns of the farming population have shown you that it was, you must know that Verres' cruelty and wickedness towards the farmers were such that some men—this, gentlemen, incredible as it seems, is a fact, and a fact that is known throughout Sicily—some men were led, by the wanton injustice of the tithe-collectors, to take their own lives. It is an established fact that a well-to-do man of Centuripa named Diocles hanged himself on the day on which he was told of Apronius having bought his tithe. So too one Tyracinus, the chief man in his town, as the eminent Archonidas of Helorus stated in your hearing, killed himself on learning that the collector, in accordance with Verres' edict, had declared a larger amount due to him than the whole of the resources of Tyracinus would be enough to pay.—Dissolute and cruel as you have ever been beyond all other men, these horrors, nevertheless, you would not have allowed, because the cries of grief they provoked in Sicily meant the risk of your own destruction: you

tinebat; non, inquam, perpeterere ut homines iniuriae tuae remedium morte ac suspendio quaererent, nisi ea res ad quaestum et ad praedam tuam pertineret.

130 Quid? illud perpeterere?—Attendite, iudices; omnibus enim nervis mihi contendendum est atque in hoc elaborandum, ut omnes intellegant quam improbam, quam manifestam, quam confessam rem pecunia redimere conetur. Grave crimen est hoc et vehemens et post hominum memoriam iudiciaque de pecuniis repetundis constituta gravissimum, praetorem socios habuisse decumanos. LVII. Non hoc nunc primum audit privatus de inimico, reus ab accusatore: iam antea in sella sedens praetor, cum provinciam Siciliam obtineret, cum ab omnibus non solum, id quod commune est, propter imperium, sed etiam, id quod istius praecipuum est, propter crudelitatem metueretur, miliens audivit, cum eius animum ad persequendum non neglegentia tardaret, sed conscientia sceleris avaritiaeque suae refrenaret. Loquebantur enim decumani palam, et praeter ceteros is qui apud istum plurimum poterat maximosque agros populabatur, Apronius, perparvum ex illis magnis lucris ad se pervenire, praetorem esse
131 socium. Hoc cum palam decumani tota provincia loquerentur tuumque nomen in re tam turpi nefaria-

would not, I say, have allowed men to seek refuge from your oppression by hanging themselves to death, unless that oppression had meant profit for you and plunder for you.

And there is another thing that you would not 130
have allowed.—I ask for your attention, gentlemen: I must strain every nerve, I must spare no kind of effort, to convince the world how brazen, how manifest, how fully admitted is the conduct for which he would use his money to buy himself acquittal. It is a fearful and a terrible charge—it is the most terrible that any man can remember since our Extortion Courts were set up—this charge against a governor of being in league with the collectors of tithe. LVII. This charge, now brought against him by his personal enemy and official prosecutor, he does not hear brought now for the first time. He has heard it before now. He has heard it while he sat as governor in his seat of office. Though he was set supreme over the province of Sicily, though both the power that he possessed like every other governor, and the cruelty that is his own peculiar distinction, made him formidable to all men, he has heard that charge brought again and again; nor was it carelessness that made him slow to take measures against the bringers, but the consciousness of his own guilt and greed that forcibly restrained him. The collectors used to talk openly, and none more openly than the man who had most power with Verres and laid waste the largest areas of cornland, I mean Apronius, how out of those big profits mighty little reached themselves, for the governor was their partner.—Now when the collectors were thus talking 131
openly all through Sicily, and connecting your name

que interponerent, nihilne tibi venit in mentem existimationi tuae consulere, nihil denique capiti ac fortunis tuis providere? cum tui nominis terror in auribus animisque aratorum versaretur, cum decumani aratoribus ad pactiones faciendas non suam vim, sed tuum scelus ac nomen opponerent. Ecquod iudicium Romae tam dissolutum, tam perditum, tam nummarium fore putasti, quo ex iudicio te ulla Salus servare posset? cum planum fieret, decumis contra instituta leges consuetudinemque omnium venditis, in aratorum bonis fortunisque diripiendis decumanos dictitasse tuas esse partes, tuam rem, tuam praedam, idque te tacuisse et, cum dissimulare non posses, potuisse tamen perpeti et perferre, quod magnitudo lucri obscuraret periculi magnitudinem plusque aliquanto apud te pecuniae cupiditas quam iudicii metus posset.

132 Esto, cetera negare non potes: ne illud quidem tibi reliquum fecisti, ut hoc posses dicere, nihil eorum te audisse, nihil ad tuas aures de infamia tua pervenisse? Querebantur cum luctu et gemitu aratores; tu id nesciebas? Fremebat tota provincia; nemo id tibi renuntiabat? Romae querimoniae de tuis iniuriis conventusque habebantur; ignorabas haec? ignorabas haec omnia? Quid? cum palam Syracusis te audiente maximo conventu L. Rubrius Q. Apro-

with a business so vile and disgraceful, did it never occur to you to look after your reputation—to ensure your escape from beggary and destruction? Your terrible name was ringing in the farmers' ears and souls; it was your name, your wickedness, not their own violence, that the collectors brought to bear against the farmers in forcing those agreements on them. Could you think that any court in Rome would be so lax, so immoral, so venal, that any power of deliverance could deliver you out of its hand? Could you think thus, when, after sales of tithe that violated every custom and regulation and precedent, the collectors of tithes kept saying that you were their partner in stripping and despoiling the farmers, that it was your business and the plunder yours, while you said nothing to all this—while, unable to feign ignorance of it, you were able to endure and tolerate it, because the greatness of your profits obscured the greatness of your peril, and greed of gain moved you considerably more than fear of your judges.

Very good: all this you cannot deny. But there 132
is one thing left. Can you declare that you heard nothing of all this, that no word of your evil report came to your own ears? No; you have not left yourself the power of saying even this. The farmers complained of their injuries, with groans and lamentation: did *you* not know of that? There were murmurings from the whole province: did no one report them to *you*? Meetings were held at Rome to protest against your oppression: were you unaware of them? or unaware of any of these facts? Nay, further, when Lucius Rubrius, in your hearing, openly and before a large gathering at Syracuse,

nium sponsione lacessivit, NI APRONIUS DICTITARET TE SIBI IN DECUMIS ESSE SOCIUM, haec te vox non perculit, non perturbavit, non ut capiti et fortunis tuis prospiceres excitavit? Tacuisti, sedasti etiam lites illorum, et sponsio illa ne fieret laborasti. LVIII. Pro di immortales, hoc aut innocens homo perpeti potuisset, aut quamvis nocens, qui modo iudicia Romae fore putaret, non aliqua simulatione existi-
133 mationi se hominum venditasset? Quid est hoc? sponsio fit de capite ac fortunis tuis: tu sedes et quiescis? non persequeris? non perseveras? non perquiris cui dixerit Apronius, quis audierit? unde hoc natum, quem ad modum prolatum sit? Si tibi aliquis ad aurem accessisset et dixisset Apronium dictitare te sibi esse socium, commoveri te oportuit, evocare Apronium, nec illum ante tibi satis facere quam tu omnium existimationi satis fecisses: cum vero in foro celeberrimo tanta frequentia hoc, verbo ac simulatione Apronio, re vera tibi obiectum esset, tu umquam tantam plagam tacitus accipere potuisses, nisi hoc ita statuisses, in re tam manifesta quicquid
134 dixisses te deterius esse facturum? Quaestores, legatos, praefectos, tribunos suos multi missos fece-

[a] This challenge has the shape of a recognized way of bringing an action at law, and it may have been that, in actual fact, and may have been heard before some court or body of arbitrators, the loser in the dispute forfeiting to the winner such a sum of money as each had by agreement deposited at the outset.

formally challenged[a] Quintus Apronius to prove that he, Apronius, had not said repeatedly that you were his partner in tithe-farming, did these words not penetrate your complacency, or stimulate you to think of your own fortunes and your own safety? You held your tongue; you allayed the contention between the two men; you did your utmost to stay the challenge from going forward.—LVIII. In God's name I ask whether an innocent man could have borne this, and whether the guiltiest man, if he thought of judgement impending in Rome, would not have made some pretence of innocence wherewith to deck out his case before the eyes of the
world. What can this mean?—A challenge is made 133
that means ruin and degradation for you: and you sit there, inactive? you do not follow the matter up? you carry it no further? you do not inquire to whom Apronius said this thing, or who heard him say it? whence it was conceived, and how it was brought to birth? Had someone but come and whispered in your ear that Apronius was telling people that you were his partner, the news should have shaken you; you should have demanded explanations from Apronius, and not have exonerated him until public opinion had exonerated you. And seeing that this allegation was made nominally and ostensibly about Apronius but in reality about you, before a great gathering in the midst of a populous city, could you possibly have submitted to such an attack without saying one word, unless you had made up your mind that where the facts were so plain you could say nothing that would not make
things worse for you? Many a governor has dis- 134
missed, and turned out of his province, quaestors and

runt et de provincia decedere iusserunt, quod illorum culpa se minus commode audire arbitrarentur aut quod peccare ipsos aliqua in re iudicarent: tu Apronium, hominem vix liberum, contaminatum, perditum, flagitiosum, qui non modo animum integrum sed ne animam quidem puram conservare potuisset, eum in tanto tuo dedecore profecto non[1] ne verbo quidem graviore appellasses, neque apud te tam sancta religio societatis fuisset ut tui capitis periculum neglegeres, nisi rem tam notam esse omnibus et tam manifestam videres.

135 Cum eodem Apronio postea P. Scandilius, eques Romanus, quem vos omnes nostis, eandem sponsionem de societate fecit quam Rubrius facere voluerat. Institit, oppressit, non remisit; facta est sponsio HS $\bar{v}$; coepit Scandilius recuperatores aut iudicem postulare. LIX. Satisne vobis praetori improbo circumdati cancelli videntur in sua provincia, immo vero in sella ac tribunali, ut aut de suo capite iudicium fieri patiatur praesens ac sedens aut confiteatur se omnibus iudiciis convinci necesse esse? Sponsio est, Ni te Apronius socium in decumis esse dicat; provincia tua est, ades, abs te iudicium postulatur; quid facis, quid decernis? Recuperatores dicis te daturum. Bene

[1] non *is found in no* MS.: *the reading is Mueller's*: *earlier editors supplied* non *before* profecto.

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[a] See note *a* on § 132.

deputies, prefects and lieutenants, because he believed his reputation to be suffering through what they were saying of him, or because he held them guilty of some misconduct of their own. You would not have suffered a semi-slave like Apronius, a filthy immoral brute whose mind was as inevitably unwholesome as the very breath of his mouth was inevitably foul—assuredly you would not have incurred such shame for yourself by allowing such a man to escape without so much as a harsh word from you, no solemn sense of the loyalty due to such a confederate would have made you neglect the risk of your own degradation, if you had not been aware that the facts of the case were known and plain to every one.—

Publius Scandilius, a Roman knight with whom 135 you are all well acquainted, subsequently issued, to this same Apronius, the same challenge as Rubrius had meant to issue before. He persisted, pressed the matter, refused to let him off. The challenge was accepted, for the sum of £50.[a] Scandilius proceeded to apply for a court, or a single judge, to try the case. LIX. A tolerably close net, you will agree, to be woven round a dishonest governor—that he should be compelled, in his own province, nay, on his own seat of judgement, either to sit there and allow an issue that might mean his own ruin to be tried in his own presence, or to confess that no court could try him and not find him guilty.—Apronius is challenged to deny that he has been calling you his partner in farming the tithes. You are governor of Sicily; you are present here; you are applied to for a court to judge the case. What do you do? what is your decision? You reply that you will appoint

agis; tametsi qui tantis erunt cervicibus recuperatores qui audeant in provincia, cum praetor adsit, non solum contra voluntatem eius sed etiam contra for-
136 tunas iudicare? Verum esto; manifesta res est; nemo est quin hoc se audisse liquido diceret; locupletissimus quisque ac certissimus testis esset; nemo erat Sicilia tota quin sciret decumas esse praetoris, nemo quin audisset id Apronium dictitasse; praeterea conventus honestus Syracusis, multi equites Romani, viri primarii, ex qua copia recuperatores reici oporteret, qui aliter iudicare nullo modo possent. Instat Scandilius poscere recuperatores. Tum iste homo innocens, qui illam suspicionem levare atque ab sese removere cuperet, recuperatores dicit se de cohorte sua daturum.

137 LX. Pro deum hominumque fidem, quem ego accuso? in quo meam industriam ac diligentiam spectari volo? quid est quod ego dicendo aut cogitando efficere aut assequi debeam? Teneo, teneo, inquam, in mediis vectigalibus populi Romani, in ipsis fructibus provinciae Siciliae furem manifesto avertentem rem frumentariam omnem, pecuniam maximam—teneo, inquam, ita ut negare non possit. Nam quid hic dicet? Sponsio facta est cum cognitore

judges. Quite right—though how shall we find judges with enough backbone to venture, in the presence of the governor of the province in which they are, on giving a decision hostile not only to his wishes but to his interests? But let that pass. The 136
facts are clear. There is no man but would state plainly that he has heard of them. The most substantial and trustworthy persons would testify to them. In all Sicily there was no man but knew that the tithe-profits were in the governor's hands, and had heard Apronius say so again and again. And Syracuse is the headquarters of a large body of honourable and respected Roman knights: the court should be chosen from their ranks, and could not possibly come to any other decision than that indicated. Scandilius urged his request that a court should be appointed: whereupon Verres—this innocent gentleman who was so anxious to dispel this false rumour and clear his own name—stated that he would select the court from the members of his own staff.

LX. In the name of all that is just and holy, what 137
manner of man is this whom I am prosecuting, whom I would make the means of proving myself a zealous and strenuous prosecutor? What is there that any utterance or device of mine can be needed to achieve or to secure? We see him plunging his hands deep into the revenues of Rome, into nothing less than the harvests of our province of Sicily; we see this thief, I say, embezzling before our eyes the whole of the corn and a vast sum of money as well; we see him, I repeat, so clearly that no denial is in his power. For here—what will he say?—A challenge has been issued to your agent Apronius, a challenge that

tuo Apronio de fortunis tuis omnibus, ni socium te sibi in decumis esse dictitaret; exspectant omnes quantae tibi ea res curae sit, quem ad modum hominum existimationi te atque innocentiam tuam probari velis. Hic tu medicum et haruspicem et praeconem tuum recuperatores dabis, aut illum etiam ipsum quem tu in cohorte tua Cassianum iudicem habebas, si qua res maior esset, Papirium Potamonem, hominem severum ex vetere illa equestri disciplina? Scandilius postulare de conventu recuperatores. Tum iste negat se de existimatione sua cuiquam nisi suis commissurum. Negotiatores sibi putant esse turpe id forum sibi iniquum eierare ubi negotientur; praetor provinciam suam sibi totam iniquam eierat.
138 Impudentiam singularem! Hic postulat se Romae absolvi qui in sua provincia iudicarit absolvi se nullo modo posse, qui plus existimet apud lectissimos senatores pecuniam quam apud tres negotiatores metum valere! Scandilius vero negat sese apud Artemidorum recuperatorem verbum esse facturum, et tamen auget atque onerat te bonis condicionibus, si tu uti velis; si ex provincia Sicilia tota statuas idoneum iudicem aut recuperatorem nullum posse
139 reperiri, postulat abs te ut Romam rem reicias. Hic

[a] *Severum . . . disciplina* is possibly ironical.
[b] The Cassius family tradition in this matter is stated in the *Actio Prima*, § 30.

threatens your utter ruin, bidding him rebut the statement that he has been talking of you as his partner in tithe-farming. The public waits eagerly to see how deeply this challenge disturbs you, what steps you mean to take to vindicate yourself and establish your innocence in the eyes of the world. Will you, even here, appoint your medico or diviner or crier to judge the issue, or even Papirius Potamo, that inflexible adherent of the ancient tradition of the knights,[a] whom you had on your staff to be used as a judge of proverbial[b] integrity for cases of exceptional importance? Scandilius then claimed to have a court appointed from among the local Roman citizens; whereupon Verres said that he would entrust none but his own people with a verdict that concerned his own reputation. Mere business men hold it discreditable to reject, as judges who are prejudiced against them, the citizens of the district in which their business is conducted: and here a governor rejects as prejudiced judges the whole
population of his province! Never was there a worse 138
piece of effrontery. Here is a man appealing for acquittal at Rome who has already pronounced his acquittal in his own province impossible, who thinks it easier to bribe a distinguished body of senators than to intimidate a trio of traders! Well, Scandilius declared that he would not open his mouth before a court made up of men like Artemidorus.—At the same time, he made you the most generous and liberal of offers, if you would only accept it: should you decide that no man could be found in all the province of Sicily fit to try this case, by himself or with others, he requested you to send on the case
to be heard at Rome. And at that, if you please, 139

enim vero tu exclamas hominem improbum, qui postulet ibi de tua existimatione iudicium fieri ubi te invidiosum esse intellegat; negas te Romam reiecturum, negas de conventu recuperatores daturum, cohortem tuam proponis. Scandilius rem se totam relicturum dicit et suo tempore esse rediturum. Quid tu ibi tum? quid facis? Scandilium cogis—quid? sponsionem acceptam facere? Impudenter tollis exspectatum existimationis tuae iudicium; non facis.
140 Quid ergo? Apronio permittis ut quos velit de cohorte sumat recuperatores? Indignum uni potius ex iniquis sumundi quam utrique ex aequis reiciundi fieri potestatem. Neutrum facis eorum. Quid ergo? Estne aliquid quod improbius fieri possit? Est; cogit enim Scandilium quinque illa milia nummum dare atque adnumerare Apronio.

Quid potuit elegantius facere praetor cupidus existimationis bonae, qui ab se omnem suspicionem propulsare, qui se eripere ex infamia cuperet? LXI. Adductus erat in sermonem, invidiam, vituperationem; dictitarat homo improbus atque impurus, Apronius, socium esse praetorem; venerat res in iudicium atque discrimen; potestas erat isti homini integro atque innocenti data ut, in Apronium

[a] And therefore, it is ironically suggested, out of the question for Verres.
[b] Literally, "of challenging" a certain number each of the judges nominated.
[c] As though Scandilius, by refusing to proceed with his challenge, had admitted himself wrong, and thus forfeited his deposit.

you cried out upon his unfairness in asking for a case that touched your own reputation to be tried in a place where he well knew you were unpopular; you would not send on the case to Rome, you said, nor would you select a court from the Roman citizens of the district; he must have your own staff.—Scandilius then said that he would drop the case altogether, and take it up again when it suited him. —And what was your reply to that? what did you do then? You compelled Scandilius . . . to do what? To acknowledge the issue as settled? No, not that: it would have been shameless[a] to disappoint the public of the expected verdict upon your character. What, then, did you do? Allow Apronius 140
to select such members of your staff as he preferred to try the case? Oh no; it would have been unfair to allow one of the parties to select a court from among persons prejudiced against the other, instead of allowing both parties the right of choice[b] from among persons prejudiced against neither. You did neither this nor the other thing. What did you do, then? Was there some still more unscrupulous course open to you?—There was. He compelled Scandilius to pay Apronius, then and there, that sum of fifty pounds.[c]

Can you conceive a more graceful action for a governor desirous of a good reputation—for one who desired to repel all suspicion from himself and rescue himself from becoming infamous? LXI. He had been made the subject of scandal, of unpopularity, of denunciation. That filthy scoundrel Apronius had been asserting that the governor was his partner. The truth of this was about to be tested by a public hearing. The upright and blameless Verres was

cum animum advertisset, sese gravissima levaret infamia. Quid excogitat poenae, quid animadversionis in Apronium? Cogit Scandilium Apronio ob singularem improbitatem atque audaciam praedicationemque nefariae societatis HS v̄ mercedis ac
141 praemii nomine dare. Quid interfuit, homo audacissime, utrum hoc decerneres an id quod Apronius dictitabat tute de te profiterere ac dictitares? Quem hominem, si qui pudor in te atque adeo si qui metus fuisset, sine supplicio dimittere non debuisti, hunc abs te sine praemio discedere noluisti?

Omnia simul intellegere potestis, iudices, ex hoc uno crimine Scandiliano: primum, hoc non esse Romae natum de societate decumarum, non ab accusatore fictum, non, ut solemus interdum in defensionibus dicere, crimen domesticum ac vernaculum, non ex tempore periculi tui constitutum, sed vetus, agitatum iam et te praetore iactatum, et non ab inimicis Romae compositum sed Romam ex provincia deportatum.
142 Simul illud intellegi potest istius in Apronium studium, Apronii de isto non modo confessio verum etiam commemoratio. Eodem accedit quod hoc quoque intellegere potestis, istum statuisse in provincia sua

offered the chance of punishing Apronius, and of freeing himself thereby from discredit of the most infamous kind. What penalty or punishment does he devise for Apronius? In return for that unique piece of brazen rascality, that assertion of an iniquitous partnership with himself, he compels Scandilius to pay Apronius £50 as what he calls damages or compensation.—What difference was there, you 141
brazen fellow, between making that order and yourself confessing and repeating what Apronius had been repeating about you? Here is a man whom, if there had been any sense of shame in you—nay, even any sense of your danger—you should not have allowed to escape unpunished; and you would not allow him to take his leave of you unrewarded!—

Gentlemen, the treatment of Scandilius which I have denounced is enough by itself to tell you everything. First, it tells you that this charge of partnership in tithe-farming has not taken its rise here in Rome. It has not been invented by the prosecutor. It is not—in the words sometimes used by counsel for the defence—a home-made and home-bred charge. It has not been put together to serve the immediate purpose of securing Verres' conviction. It is a charge of long standing, set going and circulated while Verres was still in office. It has not been concocted at Rome by his enemies, but brought to Rome from his province. At the same time this affair tells you 142
of Verres' devotion to Apronius, and why Apronius not only acknowledged that devotion but boasted of it openly. And it tells you this fact as well—how sure Verres felt that the opportunity of delivering, in his province, any verdict that might affect his

existimationis suae iudicium extra cohortem suam committendum fuisse nemini.

LXII. Ecquis est iudex cui non ab initio decumani criminis persuasum sit istum in aratorum bona fortunasque impetum fecisse? Quis hoc non ex eo statim iudicavit, quod ostendi istum decumas nova lege atque adeo nulla lege contra omnium consuetudinem atque
143 instituta vendidisse? Verum ut istos ego iudices tam severos, tam diligentes, tam religiosos non habeam, ecquis est ex iniuriarum magnitudine, improbitate decretorum, iudiciorum iniquitate qui hoc non iam dudum statuerit ac iudicarit? Etiam sane sit aliquis dissolutior in iudicando, legum, officii, rei publicae, sociorum atque amicorum neglegentior: quid? is possitne de istius improbitate dubitare, cum tanta lucra facta, tam iniquas pactiones vi et metu expressas cognoverit, cum tanta praemia civitates vi atque imperio, virgarum ac mortis metu, non modo Apronio atque eius similibus verum etiam Veneriis servis dare
144 coactas? Quodsi quis sociorum incommodis minus commovetur, si quem aratorum fugae, calamitates, exilia, suspendia denique non permovent, non possum dubitare quin is tamen, cum vastatam Siciliam, relictos agros ex civitatum litteris et ex epistula L. Metelli cognoverit, statuat fieri non posse ut de isto

reputation, must be granted to nobody save the members of his staff.

LXII. Is there one member of this Court who has not, at the very outset of that part of the prosecution that dealt with the tithes, been convinced of Verres' violent assault on the property and livelihood of the farmers? Is there one who did not reach this conclusion as soon as I showed how he had sold the tithes under a new law, or rather a negation of law, that violated the custom and ordinances of all previous governors? Nay, to say nothing of my having a 143
Court to deal with composed of men so strict, so watchful, so scrupulous as yourselves, is there one among you who has not long felt sure of that conclusion by considering the magnitude of the wrongs he did, the shameless orders he made, the unfair trials he conducted? Let us even suppose that this or that man among you is unduly lax as a judge, unduly heedless of the law and his duty to enforce the law, of his country and his country's friends and allies. What then? can such a one doubt the guilt of Verres, when he learns of the vast profits made, of the iniquitous agreements extorted by force and intimidation, of the immense bounties that violence backed by authority, that fear of the lash or of death, have compelled those cities to pay, not merely to Apronius and his like but even to temple slaves?
And if there be some of you whose hearts are not 144
touched by our allies' troubles, not stirred to their depths by the ruin and flight and exile and suicide of those farmers, I still cannot doubt that they, having learnt, from the evidence sent by the cities and the letter that Metellus wrote, how Sicily has been laid waste and her farms left desolate, feel it

non severissime iudicetur. Erit aliquis etiam qui haec omnia dissimulare ac neglegere possit? Attuli sponsiones ipso praesente factas de decumarum societate, ab ipso prohibitas iudicari; quid est quod possit quisquam manifestius hoc desiderare?

Non dubito quin vobis satis fecerim, iudices; verum tamen progrediar longius, non mehercle quo vobis magis hoc persuadeatur quam iam persuasum esse confido, sed ut ille aliquando impudentiae suae finem faciat, aliquando desinat ea se putare emere quae ipse semper habuit venalia—fidem, ius iurandum, veritatem, officium, religionem, desinant amici eius ea dictitare quae detrimento, maculae, invidiae, in-
145 famiae nobis omnibus esse possint. At qui amici! O miserum, o invidiosum offensumque paucorum culpa atque indignitate ordinem senatorium! Albam Aemilium sedentem in faucibus macelli loqui palam vicisse Verrem, emptos habere iudices, alium HS $\overline{\text{cccc}}$, alium HS $\overline{\text{d}}$, quem minimo, $\overline{\text{ccc}}$! Atque ei cum responsum esset fieri non posse, multos testes esse dicturos, me praeterea causae non defuturum, "licet hercle" inquit "omnes omnia dicant, in illo, nisi res manifesta erit ita allata ut responderi nihil possit,
146 vicimus." Bene agis, Alba; ad tuam veniam con-

[a] To the whole senatorial order, in respect of their judicial functions.

impossible that Verres should escape the severest condemnation. Will there still be those who can pretend to ignore and neglect all these facts? I have brought to your notice challenges on the subject of Verres' partnership in tithe-farming, made in the presence of Verres himself, and by Verres himself prevented from being investigated: and for what plainer proof than this can any man possibly ask me?

Gentlemen, I have no doubt that you are satisfied by what you have heard from me. None the less, I will go further: not, believe me, in order to increase the certainty that I am quite sure you already feel; but to make Verres at last abandon his impudent tactics, and cease at last to fancy that he can purchase things that he himself has always thought purchasable—honour and honesty, respect for one's oaths, duty to man and to God; and to make his friends at last cease saying things that may cause injury and dishonour and unpopularity and disgrace
to all of us.[a] His friends—think of them! How the 145
misconduct of a few unworthy senators has afflicted the whole order, and brought it unpopularity and discredit! Aemilius Alba sits at the entrance to the provision-market, and talks openly about how Verres has won the day—how he has bought his judges, paying £4000 for one, £5000 for another, £3000 for the cheapest! And when someone said to this that it could not be done, that plenty of witnesses would appear against him, and moreover that I was going to do my best as prosecutor, "Good Lord," he says, "let them all say what they like: after what we have done, unless such plain facts are brought up that there is no answer to make to them, we have
won." Very good, Alba: I will meet you on your 146

dicionem. Nihil putas valere in iudiciis coniecturam, nihil suspicionem, nihil ante actae vitae existimationem, nihil virorum bonorum testimonia, nihil civitatum auctoritates ac litteras: res manifestas quaeris. Non quaero iudices Cassianos, veterem iudiciorum severitatem non requiro, vestram in hac re fidem, dignitatem, religionem in iudicando non imploro; Albam habebo iudicem, eum hominem qui se ipse scurram improbissimum existimari vult, a scurris semper potius gladiator quam scurra appellatus est[1]; afferam rem eius modi in decumis ut Alba fateatur istum in re frumentaria et in bonis aratorum aperte palamque esse praedatum.

147 LXIII. Decumas agri Leontini magno dicis te vendidisse. Ostendi iam illud initio, non existimandum magno vendidisse eum qui verbo decumas vendiderit, re et condicione et lege et edicto et licentia decumanorum decumas aratoribus nullas reliquas fecerit. Etiam illud ostendi, vendidisse alios magno decumas agri Leontini ceterorumque agrorum, et lege Hieronica vendidisse et pluris etiam quam te vendidisse, nec aratorem quemquam esse questum; nec enim fuit quod quisquam queri posset, cum lege aequissime scripta venderent, neque illud umquam

[1] *All MSS. read* sit, *not* est. *Peterson therefore reads* <cum> a scurris . . . sit: qui a scurris . . . sit *is the reading of all MSS. except O, which has* a scurris . . sit.

[a] As before, the "price" is not a sum of money but a quantity of grain: see note on § 75.

own terms. You believe that in our courts no one is swayed by inferences or circumstantial evidence, nor by the character that a man has borne all his life, nor by the evidence of honest witnesses, nor by the responsible written statements of citizen bodies; and you insist on plain facts. Well, I do not ask for judges as scrupulous as the Cassii, nor seek for a trial as strict as those of old, nor call upon the members of this Court to bring to this trial the honesty, the seriousness, the solemn sense of duty that are theirs. No, I will have Alba as judge, a man who himself aims at the reputation of a scurrilous wit—and who is always spoken of by the wits as less a wit than a brute; and I will adduce a fact, in connexion with the tithes, of such a kind that Alba himself will admit that Verres has plundered, openly and publicly, our supplies of corn and the property of our farmers.

LXIII.—You tell us that you sold the tithes of the 147 Leontini district at a high price.[a] Now I showed at the outset that a man cannot be held to have sold tithes for a high price when it is only in name that he has sold tithes at all, and in fact, what with his conditions and his terms and his regulations and the illegalities of his collectors, has left the farmers with less than the amount of the tithe for themselves. And I further showed that other governors had sold at a high price the tithes of the Leontini district and of the other districts; that they had both sold them in accordance with the code of Hiero and sold them at an even higher price than you did; and that in spite of this none of the farmers complained.—There was in truth no room for any farmer to complain, since the sales were conducted in accordance with an

aratoris interfuit, quanti decumae venirent. Non enim ita est ut, si magno venierint, plus arator debeat, si parvo, minus ; ut frumenta nata sunt, ita decumae veneunt ; aratoris autem interest ita se frumenta habere ut decumae quam plurimo venire possint ; dum arator ne plus decuma det, expedit ei decumam
148 esse quam maximan. Verum hoc, ut opinor, esse vis caput defensionis tuae, magno te decumas vendidisse atque aliorum quidem agrorum pro portione magno decumas vendidisse, agri vero Leontini, qui plurimum efficit, tritici mod. $\overline{\text{ccxvi}}$. Si doceo pluris aliquanto potuisse te vendere, neque iis voluisse addicere qui contra Apronium licerentur, et Apronio multo minoris quam aliis potueris vendere tradidisse—si hoc doceo, poteritne te ipse Alba, tuus antiquissimus non solum amicus verum etiam amator, absolvere ?

LXIV. Dico equitem Romanum, hominem in primis honestum, Q. Minucium, cum sui similibus ad decumas agri Leontini tritici mod. non mille nec duo nec tria milia, sed ad unas unius agri decumas tritici modium triginta voluisse addere ; ei potestatem emendi non esse factam, ne res abiret ab Apronio.
149 Negare hoc, nisi forte omnia negare constituisti, nullo modo potes ; palam res gesta est maximo conventu

equitable law, and since it never made any difference to the farmer how high a price was secured. For the position is not that if the price secured is high more is due from the farmers, and less if the price is low. The amount of tithe sold corresponds to the yield of the harvest, and it is to the advantage of the farmer to have crops so heavy that the tithes may fetch the highest prices : so long as the farmer hands over no more than his tithe, the larger that tithe is, the greater his profit.—However, I gather that you mean 148
your main plea to be that you sold the tithes at a high price, and that while you sold the tithes of other districts at a price that was high in relation to their particular harvests, you sold those of the Leontini district, the most productive, for 216,000 pecks of wheat. If I prove that you might have sold them for appreciably more than that, and refused to knock them down to those who were bidding against Apronius, and handed them over to Apronius for much less than you might have sold them for to others—if I prove this, will Alba himself, your oldest friend and indeed your oldest lover, be able to vote for your acquittal ?

LXIV. I assert that Quintus Minucius, a Roman knight and a man of high position, along with others of his own class, was prepared to pay, for the tithes of the Leontini district, not one, nor two, nor three thousand pecks of wheat beyond the amount the tithes were sold for, but thirty thousand more, simply for the tithes of one single district ; and that he was not allowed the opportunity of buying them, in order that Apronius might not be deprived of them. Deny 149
this you cannot possibly, unless you have made up your mind to deny everything. The thing was done

Syracusis ; testis est tota provincia, propterea quod
undique ad emendas decumas solent eo convenire.
Quod sive fateris sive convinceris, quot et quam
manifestis in rebus teneare non vides ? Primum
tuam rem illam et praedam fuisse ; nam ni ita esset,
cur tu Apronium malebas, quem omnes tuum pro-
curatorem esse in decumis, tuum negotium agere
loquebantur, quam Minucium decumas agri Leontini
sumere ? Deinde immensum atque infinitum lucrum
esse factum ; nam si $\overline{\text{xxx}}$ tu commotus non esses,
certe hoc idem lucri Minucius Apronio libenter
150 dedisset, si ille accipere voluisset. Quantam igitur
illi spem praedae propositam arbitramur fuisse
qui tantum praesens lucrum nulla opera insumpta
contempserit atque despexerit ? Deinde ipse Minu-
cius numquam tanti habere voluisset, si decumas tu
lege Hieronica venderes ; sed quia tuis novis edictis
et iniquissimis institutis plus aliquanto se quam de-
cumas ablaturum videbat, idcirco longius progressus
est. At Apronio semper plus etiam multo abs te per-
missum est quam quod edixeras. Quantum igitur
quaestum putamus factum esse per eum cui quidvis
licitum sit, cum tantum lucri voluerit addere is cui,
151 si decumas emisset, idem non liceret ? Postremo

[a] *i.e.*, on condition that Apronius transferred the tithe-rights to Minucius and his friends : they would of course also pay to the State the amount for which the rights had been knocked down to Apronius.

openly at Syracuse before a large gathering. The
whole province is a witness to the fact, since men
come regularly from every part of it to Syracuse to
attend the sales of tithe. Confess it now, or have it
proved against you hereafter—can you not see how
numerous, and how unmistakable, are the facts here
proved against you ? In the first place, that this
was your affair, and that the plunder came to you.
Had it been otherwise, why would you have the
Leontini tithes go not to Minucius but to Apronius,
who was being talked of by everyone as being *your*
agent in the tithe-farming and conducting *your*
business ? Next, it is proved that the profit made
was immense, enormous ; for even if that 30,000 had
no effect on you, Minucius would undoubtedly have
been glad to pay Apronius the same amount as a
bonus if Apronius would have accepted it [a] ; we can 150
therefore conceive what hopes of plunder were before
the eyes of a man who could contemptuously despise
so vast an immediate profit, to be obtained without
exertion. In the next place, Minucius himself would
certainly not have been willing to pay so much for
the tithes, if you had been selling them in accordance
with the code of Hiero : it was because he saw that
your new and iniquitous orders and regulations would
enable him to take a good deal more than his tenth
of the corn—that was why he went so much further.
Now Apronius was always allowed to take a great
deal more than even your regulations allowed. We
can therefore imagine the amount of profit made by
this man who had unlimited licence, when a man who,
if he had bought the tithes, would not have had
the same licence was ready to pay so large a bonus
to secure them. And finally, you are at any rate 151

illa quidem certe tibi praecisa defensio est, in qua tu semper omnia tua furta atque flagitia latere posse arbitratus es, magno te decumas vendidisse, plebi Romanae consuluisse, annonae prospexisse. Non potest hoc dicere is qui negare non potest se unius agri decumas xxx milibus modium minoris quam potuerit vendidisse; ut etiamsi tibi hoc concedam, Minucio te ideo non tradidisse quod iam addixisses Apronio (aiunt enim te ita dictitare, quod ego exspecto cupioque te illud defendere)—verum ut ita sit, tamen non potes hoc quasi praeclarum aliquid praedicare, magno te decumas vendidisse, cum fuisse fateare qui multo pluris voluerit emere.

152 LXV. Tenetur igitur iam, iudices, et manifesto tenetur avaritia, cupiditas hominis, scelus, improbitas, audacia. Quid? si haec quae dico ipsius amici defensoresque iudicarunt, quid amplius vultis? Adventu L. Metelli praetoris, cum omnes eius comites iste sibi suo illo panchresto medicamento amicos reddidisset, aditum est ad Metellum; eductus est Apronius. Eduxit vir primarius, C. Gallus senator; postulavit ab L. Metello ut ex edicto suo iudicium daret in Apronium, QUOD PER VIM AUT METUM ABSTULISSET, quam formulam Octavianam et Romae Metellus habuerat et habebat in provincia. Non impetrat,

[a] Probably the consul of 75. See Long's excursus, pp 429-435.
[b] As one of the praetors of 71.

precluded from the plea by means of which you have always counted on being able to cover up all your thefts and rascalities—the plea that you sold the tithes dear, that you forwarded the interests of the Roman populace, that you took steps to make corn plentiful. That cannot be said by a man who cannot deny that he sold the tithe of a single district for 30,000 pecks less than he might. So that even if I grant you the point that you did not transfer the tithe to Minucius because you had knocked them down to Apronius already (that is what you are reported to have been saying, and I hope with all my heart that you will offer this defence)—but even granted this, you still cannot proclaim as a glorious achievement your sale of the tithes at a high price, when you admit that there was a man ready to pay a much higher one.

LXV. Well then, gentlemen, this man's avaricious greed, his unblushing and criminal wickedness, are already proved, and proved unmistakably. And now, if what I have been saying is the expressed opinion of his own friends and supporters, what more would you have? Upon the arrival as governor of Lucius Metellus, the whole of whose staff Verres had turned into his own friends by means of his own famous Universal Elixir, a summons was issued against Apronius to appear before the governor. It was issued by Gaius Gallus, a man of high rank and a senator, who applied to Metellus for permission to prosecute Apronius, in accordance with the governor's own edict, on the charge of "Robbery with Violence or Intimidation," a form of action, instituted by Octavius,[a] which Metellus had accepted as valid when in Rome[b] and was accepting as valid now in 152

cum hoc diceret Metellus, praeiudicium se de capite C. Verris per hoc iudicium nolle fieri. Tota Metelli cohors hominum non ingratorum aderat Apronio; C. Gallus, homo vestri ordinis, a suo familiarissimo L. Metello iudicium ex edicto non potest impetrare.
153 Non reprehendo Metellum; pepercit homini amico et, quem ad modum ipsum dicere audivi, necessario; non reprehendo, inquam, Metellum, sed hoc miror, quo modo de quo homine praeiudicium noluerit fieri per recuperatores, de hoc ipse non modo praeiudicarit verum gravissime ac vehementissime iudicarit. Primum enim, si Apronium absolutum iri putaret, nihil erat quod ullum praeiudicium vereretur; deinde, si condemnato Apronio coniunctam cum eo Verris causam omnes erant existimaturi, Metellus quidem certe iam hoc iudicabat, eorum rem causamque esse coniunctam, qui statueret Apronio condemnato de isto praeiudicium futurum. Et simul una res utrique rei est argumento, et aratores vi et metu coactos Apronio multo plus quam debuerint dedisse, et Apronium istius rem suo nomine egisse, cum L. Metellus statuerit non posse Apronium condemnari quin simul de istius scelere atque improbitate iudicaretur.

[a] His *edictum* had stated, or implied, that he would allow such actions to be brought.

[b] For Verres' bribes—the "elixir" already mentioned.

Sicily.[a] Metellus refused the application, on the ground that he was unwilling, by allowing the case to be heard, to have judgement pronounced in advance on the capital charge now being brought against Verres. The whole of his staff showed their gratitude[b] by appearing to support Apronius; and Gaius Gallus, a senator like yourselves, was refused leave, in spite of his close acquaintance with Metellus, for a trial that was authorized by the governor's edict. I do not blame Metellus: he did his best for 153
a man who was his friend, and indeed—as he has himself said in my hearing—his intimate friend. I do not *blame* Metellus, I repeat; but what does surprise me is this: when he refused to allow that court to pronounce an advance judgement on Verres, how could he help thereby pronouncing an advance judgement himself, nay, a final judgement of the most weighty and emphatic kind? For, in the first place, if he thought Apronius would be acquitted, he had no reason to be afraid of any advance judgement; and in the next, if, Apronius being found guilty, everyone would regard the fate of Verres as bound up with his, Metellus at any rate was certainly pronouncing the judgement that the fate and fortunes of the two men were bound up together, when he laid it down that the conviction of Apronius would be an advance judgement of Verres. And we find at the same time one fact proving two other facts—that the farmers were forced or terrified into giving Apronius far more than was due from them, and that Apronius was acting nominally for himself but really for Verres—when we find Metellus certain that the conviction of Apronius must carry with it the condemnation of Verres' criminal wickedness.

154 LXVI. Venio nunc ad epistulam Timarchidi, liberti istius et accensi; de qua cum dixero, totum hoc crimen decumanum peroraro. Haec epistula est, iudices, quam nos Syracusis in aedibus Apronii cum litteras conquireremus invenimus. Missa est, ut ipsa significat, ex itinere, cum Verres iam de provincia decessisset, Timarchidi manu scripta. Recita. EPISTULA TIMARCHIDI. TIMARCHIDES[1] VERRIS ACCENSUS APRONIO[1] SALUTEM DICIT. Iam hoc quidem non reprehendo, quod ascribit "accensus." Cur enim sibi hoc scribae soli assumant: "L. PAPIRIUS SCRIBA?" Volo ego hoc esse commune accensorum, lictorum, viatorum. FAC DILIGENTIAM ADHIBEAS, QUOD AD PRAETORIS EXISTIMATIONEM ATTINET. Commendat Apronio Verrem, et hortatur ut inimicis eius resistat. Bono praesidio munitur existimatio tua, siquidem in Apronii constituitur diligentia atque auctoritate. HABES
155 VIRTUTEM, ELOQUENTIAM. Quam copiose laudatur Apronius a Timarchide, quam magnifice! Cui ego illum non putem placere oportere qui tanto opere Timarchidi probatus sit? HABES SUMPTUM UNDE FACIAS. Necesse est, si quid redundarit de vestro frumentario quaestu, ad illum potissimum per quem agebatis defluxisse. SCRIBAS, APPARITORES RECENTES ARRIPE; CUM L. VOLTEIO, QUI PLURIMUM POTEST, CAEDE, CONCIDE. Videte quam valde malitiae suae confidat Timarchides, qui etiam Apronio improbitatis

[1] *These two names do not occur in the MSS.*

LXVI. I now come to the letter of Verres' freedman and attendant Timarchides, having dealt with which I shall have completed my case so far as the tithes are concerned. This, gentlemen, is a letter that we found, in the course of our search for documentary evidence, in the house of Apronius at Syracuse. It was dispatched, as its contents indicate, on the return journey after Verres had left his province; and it was written by Timarchides himself.—Read it aloud.—*The letter is read.* "Timarchides, attendant of Verres, sends greeting . . ."—Now I have no objection to his styling himself "attendant." Why should clerks alone pretend to this privilege and begin their letters "Lucius Papirius, clerk"? I would have them share it with attendants and policemen and call-boys.—"See that you do all you can to protect the governor's reputation." He appeals to Apronius on behalf of Verres, and bids him make head against the latter's enemies. —Well and truly is your reputation defended, if that defence is the hard-working and highly-respected Apronius.—"You are a man of character and eloquence." How rich and impressive is this eulogy of 155
Apronius by Timarchides! Whom can I imagine dissatisfied with one whom Timarchides approves so warmly?—"You have money for expenses."—Of course, any surplus from the profits your master and you made out of the corn business was bound to find its way to your agent.—"Get hold of the new clerks and assistants. Lucius Volteius can do a great deal: join with him, go for them, push your hardest."—We can see the assured confidence Timarchides has in his own rascality, when he gives even Apronius lessons in wickedness. And look at those words "Go

praecepta det. Iam hoc "caede, concide"—nonne vobis verba domo patroni depromere videtur ad omne genus nequitiae accommodata? VOLO, MI FRATER, FRATERCULO TUO CREDAS. Consorti quidem in lucris atque furtis, gemino et simillimo nequitia, improbitate, audacia. LXVII. IN COHORTE CARUS HABEBERE. Quid est hoc "in cohorte"? quo pertinet? Apronium doces? quid? in vestram cohortem te monitore an sua sponte pervenerat? QUOD CUIQUE OPUS EST OPPONE. Qua impudentia putatis eum in dominatione fuisse qui in fuga tam improbus sit? Ait omnia pecunia effici posse; dare, profundere oportere, si velis vincere. Non hoc mihi tam molestum est Apronio suadere Timarchidem quam quod hoc idem patrono suo praecipit. TE POSTULANTE OMNES VINCERE SOLENT.
156 Verre quidem praetore, non Sacerdote, non Peducaeo, non hoc ipso Metello. SCIS METELLUM SAPIENTEM ESSE. Hoc vero ferri iam non potest, irrideri viri optimi, L. Metelli, ingenium et contemni ac despici a fugitivo Timarchide. SI VOLTEIUM HABEBIS, OMNIA LUDIBUNDUS CONFICIES. His vehementer errat Timarchides, qui aut Volteium pecunia corrumpi putet posse, aut Metellum unius arbitratu gerere praeturam. Sed errat domestica coniectura: quia multos et per se et per alios multa ludibundos apud Verrem

[a] That of Metellus.
[b] *Vestram cohortem* means "the staff to which you (*i.e.*, Timarchides and his friends) belonged."
[c] *i.e.*, to bribe the members of the present Court.

for them" and "push your hardest": one sees him producing from his former master's cellar expressions so applicable to every type of wickedness.—"I hope, old chap, you will trust your little brother."—Yes, he is his own father's son when it comes to money-making and thieving, his twin and his double in immorality and rascality and effrontery.—LXVII. "The staff[a] will be devoted to you."—And what do you mean by that? Teach your grandmother! Did Apronius get on to Verres' staff[b] because you showed him the way, or on his own account?—"Let everyone have as much as may be necessary."—Imagine the man's shamelessness in the days of power, when he is so unprincipled in the days of exile. Everything can be managed with money, he says; you must give money, you must pour it out, if you mean to win. What troubles me is not so much that Timarchides should urge Apronius to do this as that he is giving exactly the same instructions to his old master.[c]—"Everyone succeeds who has you to canvass for him."—Well yes, when Verres is governor: not under 156
Sacerdos, or Peducaeus, or Metellus himself who is governor now.—"Metellus, as you know, is an old wiseacre."—Now this is really intolerable—that the ability of so great a man as Metellus should be derided and scorned and despised by a gaol-bird like Timarchides.—"Get Volteius to help, and you will find the whole business child's-play."—Here Timarchides is emphatically mistaken, in supposing either that Volteius can be bribed, or that Metellus's administration is under any one man's control. But his mistake is an inference from his own experience. He has seen that for many people it was child's-play to manage Verres, directly or through others; and

effecisse vidit, ad omnes eosdem patere aditus arbitratur. Facilius vos efficiebatis ludibundi quae volebatis a Verre, quod multa eius ludorum genera noratis. INCULCATUM EST METELLO ET VOLTEIO TE ARATORES EVERTISSE. Quis istuc Apronio attribuebat, cum aratorem aliquem everterat, aut Timarchidi, cum ob iudicandum aut decernendum aut imperandum aliquid aut remittendum pecuniam acceperat, aut Sextio lictori, cum aliquem innocentem securi percusserat? Nemo; omnes ei tum attribuebant quem nunc con-
157 demnari volunt. OBTUDERUNT EIUS AURES TE SOCIUM PRAETORIS FUISSE. Videsne hoc quam clarum sit et fuerit, cum etiam Timarchides hoc metuat? Concedesne non hoc crimen nos in te confingere, sed iam pridem ad crimen aliquam defensionem libertum quaerere? Libertus et accensus tuus, et tibi ac liberis tuis omnibus in rebus coniunctus ac proximus, ad Apronium scribit vulgo esse ab omnibus ita demonstratum Metello, tibi Apronium in decumis socium fuisse. FAC SCIAT IMPROBITATEM ARATORUM; IPSI SUDABUNT, SI DI VOLENT. Quod istuc, per deos immortales, aut qua de causa excitatum esse dicamus in aratores tam infestum odium atque tantum? Quantam iniuriam fecerunt Verri aratores ut eos etiam libertus et accensus eius tam irato animo ac litteris insequatur?

believes in consequence that all governors are amenable to the same methods.—Why did you rascals find it such child's-play to get what you wanted out of Verres? Because you had so varied an acquaintance with the little chap's games.—"Metellus and Volteius have had it impressed upon them that it was you who ruined the farmers."—Who ever blamed Apronius for it, when he ruined this farmer or that? or blamed Timarchides, when he took a bribe to secure some verdict or decree, or to get someone ordered to do this or excused from doing that? or blamed Sextius the lictor, when he cut off the head of this or of that innocent man? Nobody: everyone blamed then the man whom they hope to see found
guilty now.—"People have dinned it into his ears 157
that you were in partnership with the governor."—Now can you see, Verres, how obvious that fact is and has been, when even Timarchides is thus afraid of it? Will you admit that this charge against you is no invention of ours, but one to meet which your freedman has, for months past, been trying to discover some defence? Your freedman and attendant, a man joined by the closest ties of every kind to you and your children, says in a letter to Apronius that the partnership of Apronius with yourself in the tithe business is a fact to which everyone has repeatedly drawn attention. "Make him see what rascals the farmers are. They shall sweat for it themselves, D.V." What, in God's name, are we to make of this violent and savage hatred of the farmers and what has aroused it? What great wrong have the farmers done Verres, that even his freedman and attendant should feel and write with so much fury against them?

LXVIII. Neque ego huius fugitivi vobis, iudices, epistulam recitassem, nisi ut ex ea totius familiae praecepta et instituta et disciplinam cognosceretis. Videtis ut moneat Apronium quibus rebus ac muneribus se insinuet in familiaritatem Metelli, Volteium corrumpat, scribas accensosque[1] pretio deleniat; ea praecipit quae vidit, ea monet alienum hominem quae domi didicit ipse; verum in hoc errat uno, quod existimat easdem vias ad omnium familiaritates esse
158 munitas. Quamquam merito sum iratus Metello, tamen haec quae vera sunt dicam. Apronius ipsum Metellum non pretio, ut Verrem, non convivio, non muliere, non sermone impuro atque improbo posset corrumpere, quibus rebus non sensim atque moderate ad istius amicitiam adrepserat, sed brevi tempore totum hominem totamque eius praeturam possederat; cohortem autem Metelli, quam vocat, quid erat quod corrumperet, ex qua recuperatores in aratorem nulli
159 dabantur? Nam quod scribit Metelli filium puerum esse, vehementer errat; non enim ad omnes praetorum filios idem aditus sunt. O Timarchide, Metelli est filius in provincia non puer, sed adulescens bonus ac pudens, dignus illo loco ac nomine; vester iste puer praetextatus in provincia quem ad modum fuisset non dicerem, si pueri esse illam culpam ac non patris existimarem.—Tune, cum te ac tuam vitam

[1] accensumque *Peterson, with most MSS.*: accensosque *Mueller, from O's corrupt reading* accensusque.

[a] The plural *vester* is part of the innuendo against the son of Verres.

LXVIII. Now, gentlemen, my only purpose in reading you this gaol-bird's letter was that you might learn from it the rules and principles and methods of the whole gang. You see him instructing Apronius in the methods he must use and the gifts he must make, so as to worm himself into favour with Metellus, seduce Volteius, and bribe clerks and attendants into acquiescence. His teaching is based on experience; he is instructing an outsider in the wisdom he has learnt himself at home. But he makes one mistake —in thinking that the one road will lead equally well
to the favour of everyone. I have good reason to be 158
angry with Metellus; but none the less I will be honest, and say this. So far as Metellus himself is concerned, Apronius could not seduce him, as he seduced Verres, by means of money and dinner-parties and women and vile filthy conversation—methods whereby he had not crept quietly and imperceptibly into Verres' affection, but had rapidly secured the complete mastery of Verres, as a man and as a governor. And as for the staff of Metellus, to which he refers, why should he try to seduce it, when none of its members were being appointed to
hear charges against the farmers? And when he says 159
that Metellus has a young son, he is making a very bad mistake: not all the sons of governors are open to the same inducements. The son whom Metellus has with him, my good Timarchides, is no mere boy, but a young man, and an upright and modest young man worthy of the rank and name he bears; whereas the behaviour of that young boy of yours[a] in Sicily is such as I would not mention, if I thought the boy himself was to blame for it and not his father.—How could you, Verres, knowing yourself and the life you

nosses, in Siciliam tecum grandem praetextatum
filium ducebas, ut, etiamsi natura puerum a paternis
vitiis atque a generis similitudine abduceret, con-
suetudo tamen eum et disciplina degenerare non
160 sineret ? Fac enim fuisse in eo C. Laelii aut M.
Catonis materiem atque indolem : quid ex eo boni
sperari atque effici potest, qui in patris luxurie sic
vixerit ut nullum umquam pudicum neque sobrium
convivium viderit, qui in epulis cotidianis adulta
aetate per triennium inter impudicas mulieres et
intemperantes viros versatus sit, nihil umquam
audierit a patre quo pudentior aut melior esset, nihil
umquam patrem facere viderit quod cum imitatus
esset non, id quod turpissimum est, patris similis
putaretur ?

161 LXIX. Quibus in rebus non solum filio, Verres, sed
etiam rei publicae fecisti iniuriam. Susceperas enim
liberos non solum tibi sed etiam patriae, qui non modo
tibi voluptati sed etiam qui aliquando usui rei publi-
cae esse possent. Eos instituere atque erudire ad
maiorum instituta, ad civitatis disciplinam, non ad
tua flagitia neque ad tuas turpitudines debuisti ; esset
ex inerti et improbo et impuro parente navus et
pudens et probus filius, haberet aliquid abs te res
publica muneris. Nunc pro te Verrem substituisti
alterum civitati ; nisi forte hoc deteriorem, si fieri
potest, quod tu eius modi evasisti non in hominis
luxuriosi, sed tantum in furis atque divisoris disciplina

lead, take with you to Sicily a young son who was
no longer a child, so that, even if his natural bent
tended to wean him from his father's vices and make
him unlike his family, habit and training might never-
theless keep him true to type ? Suppose there had 160
been in him the stuff and the disposition to make a
Laelius or a Cato of him, what good could be hoped
for, or produced from, a boy living amid his father's
debaucheries, so that he never set eyes on one decent
or sober dinner-party ; a boy who day by day for
three years spent his adolescence feasting with un-
chaste women and intoxicated men, who never heard
his father say anything that could make him more
modest or virtuous, or do anything that he could
copy without incurring the foul disgrace of being
recognized as his father's son ?

LXIX. And by treating your son thus, Verres, you 161
have wronged not him alone, but your country too.
You begot children not only for yourself, but for
your fatherland, that they might not merely be a
pleasure to yourself, but also, in due season, do good
service to your country. It was your duty to educate
and instruct them in the ways of our forefathers and
the traditions of our national life, not in your own
depraved and disgraceful behaviour ; and if your son,
for all his father's idleness and dishonesty and un-
cleanness, grew up active and honest and decent,
you would have done your duty by the country to
some extent at least. As it is, you have but supplied
the nation with another Verres to take your place ;
or it may be with one still worse, if that be possible,
inasmuch as you have turned out what you are after
being trained and educated not by a debauchee but
merely by a thief and a bribery-agent : can we ever 162

162 educatus ; quid isto fore festivius arbitramur, si est tuus natura filius, consuetudine discipulus, voluntate similis ? Quem ego, iudices, quamvis bonum fortemque facile paterer evadere ; non enim me inimicitiae commovent si quae mihi cum isto futurae sunt. Nam si in omnibus rebus innocens fuero meique similis, quid mihi istius inimicitiae nocebunt ? sin aliqua in re Verris similis fuero, non magis mihi deerit inimicus quam Verri defuit. Etenim, iudices, eius modi res publica debet esse, et erit veritate iudiciorum constituta, ut inimicus neque deesse nocenti possit neque obesse innocenti. Quapropter nulla res est quam ob rem ego istum nolim ex paternis probris ac vitiis emergere ; id quod tametsi isti difficile est, tamen haud scio an fieri possit, praesertim si, sicut nunc fit, custodes amicorum eum sectabuntur, quoniam pater tam neglegens ac dissolutus est.

163 Verum huc longius quam voluntas fuit ab epistula Timarchidi digressa est oratio mea, qua recitata conclusurum me esse crimen decumanum dixeram ; ex quo intellexistis innumerabilem frumenti numerum per triennium aversum ab re publica esse ereptumque aratoribus.

LXX. Sequitur ut de frumento empto vos, iudices, doceam, maximo atque impudentissimo furto ; de

hope to see a more delightful creature than that boy of yours, if he is your son by birth, your pupil by training, and your imitator by disposition ? For my own part, gentlemen, I should be quite ready to let the boy turn out a thoroughly stout and honest fellow ; I am not disturbed by the thought of possible future enmity between him and myself. For if I remain consistently upright in the future as in the past, what harm will his enmity do me ? and if I become like Verres in this way or that, I shall find my enemy as surely as Verres has found his. The fact is, gentlemen, that our national life should be such, and, if our courts do their duty, will be such, that personal enmities shall be as inevitable for the guilty as they are harmless for the innocent. And therefore there is no reason why I should not wish this lad to get himself clear of his father's shames and vices ; and hard as that must be for him, it may perhaps be possible, especially if the guardians set over him by his friends continue to watch over him as they are doing now, to make up for the reckless irresponsibility of his father.

But in saying all this I have strayed farther 163
than I intended from Timarchides' letter, with the reading of which I said I would close that part of my prosecution that concerns the tithes. What I have said has now shown you that for a period of three years the country has been cheated, and the farmers robbed, of a quantity of corn that defies calculation.

LXX. My next business, gentlemen, is to put before you the huge and impudent thefts connected with the purchase of corn. I ask for your attention

quo dum certa et pauca et magna dicam breviter, attendite.

Frumentum emere in Sicilia debuit Verres ex senatus consulto et ex lege Terentia et Cassia frumentaria. Emundi duo genera fuerunt, unum decumanum, alterum quod praeterea civitatibus aequaliter esset distributum; illius decumani tantum quantum ex primis decumis fuisset, huius imperati in annos singulos tritici mod. $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$; pretium autem constitutum decumano in modios singulos HS III, imperato HS III s. Ita in frumentum imperatum HS duodetriciens in annos singulos Verri decernebatur quod aratoribus solveret, in alteras decumas fere ad nonagiens. Sic per triennium ad hanc frumenti emptionem Siciliensem prope centiens et viciens erogatum est.

164 Hanc pecuniam tantam datam tibi ex aerario inopi atque exhausto, datam ad frumentum, hoc est ad necessitatem salutis ac vitae, datam ut Siculis aratoribus, quibus tanta onera res publica imponeret, solveretur, abs te sic laceratam esse dico ut possim illud probare, si velim, omnem te hanc pecuniam domum tuam avertisse. Etenim sic hanc rem totam administrasti ut hoc quod dico probari aequissimo iudici possit. Sed ego habebo rationem auctoritatis meae; meminero quo animo et quo consilio ad causam publicam accesserim; non agam tecum accusatorie,

[a] 73 B.C.

[b] *i.e.*, all the corn-growing cities of Sicily, not merely those who were subject to tithe.

while I state a few certain and important facts regarding them.

By decree of the Senate and under the provisions of the corn law of the year of Terentius and Cassius,[a] it was Verres' duty to make purchases of corn in Sicily. There were two kinds of purchase to be carried out, the first of a tithe, the second an additional purchase to be distributed fairly among the various communities.[b] The amount of the former was to be the same as that yielded by the original tithes; that of the latter—the "requisitioned" corn—was to be 800,000 pecks of wheat each year. The price fixed was 3 sesterces a peck for the tithe corn and 3½ sesterces a peck for the requisitioned corn. Verres was therefore assigned £28,000 a year to pay the farmers for the requisitioned corn, and about £90,000 a year to pay for the second tithe. Thus the amount paid over to Verres in each of his three years for this purchase of corn in Sicily was nearly £120,000.

This great sum of money, given to you from a 164
needy and depleted Treasury—given you to get corn, that first necessity for life and existence—given you to pay the farmers of Sicily on whom the state was imposing so heavy a burden—upon this money I assert that you made such inroads that I could, if I chose, make my hearers believe that you diverted the whole of it into your own coffers; for indeed you have handled the whole of this business in such a fashion that the least prejudiced member of this Court might believe no less than that. But I will not forget the trust that is reposed in me. I will not forget the spirit and the purpose with which I have undertaken the defence of the nation's interests. I will not use the licence of a prosecutor in dealing

nihil fingam, nihil cuiquam probari volo me dicente
165 quod non ante mihimet ipsi probatum sit. In hac pecunia publica, iudices, haec insunt tria genera furtorum: primum, cum posita esset pecunia apud eas societates unde erat attributa, binis centesimis faeneratus est; deinde permultis civitatibus pro frumento nihil solvit omnino; postremo, si cui civitati solvit, tantum detraxit quantum commodum fuit, nulli quod debitum est reddidit.

LXXI. Ac primum hoc ex te quaero. Tu, cui publicani ex Carpinatii litteris gratias egerunt, pecunia publica ex aerario erogata, ex vectigalibus populi Romani ad emendum frumentum attributa—fueritne tibi quaestui, pensitaritne tibi binas centesimas? Credo te negaturum; turpis enim est et periculosa
166 confessio. Mihi autem hoc perarduum est demonstrare. Quibus enim testibus? publicanis? Tractati honorifice sunt; tacebunt. Litteris eorum? Decreto decumanorum remotae sunt. Quo me igitur vertam? rem tam improbam, crimen tantae audaciae tantaeque impudentiae propter inopiam testium ac litterarum praetermittam? Non faciam, iudices, utar teste—quo? P. Vettio Chilone, homine equestris ordinis

[a] The high rate of interest is not the offence—the loan was not forced on the companies. But either the money should not have been lent at all, or not for so long, but paid promptly to the farmers; or at least the State, and not Verres, should have received the interest. *Binis centesimis* means literally "for two hundredths," *i.e.*, per month. The companies were Sicilian companies who owed money to the Roman government.

[b] See Book ii. § 172.

with you: I will not indulge in fancies, nor hope that anyone will believe anything, because I say it, unless I have already come to believe it myself.—Gentle- 165
men, his thefts of this government money were of the three following kinds. In the first place, the money being in the hands of companies on whom he was to draw for its payment, he lent it to them—at 24 per cent.[a] Secondly, to a great may cities he paid nothing at all for their corn. Finally, from any payment he did make to any city he deducted as much as he liked, and never paid the full amount due to any of them.

LXXI. To begin with, I will ask you a question. We know that it was you to whom the tax-farmers passed a vote of thanks because of what Carpinatius wrote to them.[b] But when public money had been assigned to you from the treasury, when orders had been made for its payment, out of the nation's revenues, for the purchase of corn—is it true that this money became a source of gain to yourself and brought you in 24 per cent? Doubtless you will deny the charge: to admit the truth of it would be discreditable—and dangerous. And it is a charge 166
very troublesome for me to substantiate. For what evidence can I produce? That of the tax-farmers? You have treated them handsomely, and they will say nothing. That of their records? By a vote of the tithe-collectors, these have been destroyed. How then shall I proceed? Am I to pass over conduct so scandalous, effrontery so unblushing, and fail to press my charge, because I lack witnesses and documents? —Not so, gentlemen. I have a witness to produce: and who is it? It is a most distinguished and respected member of the equestrian order, Publius

honestissimo atque ornatissimo, qui isti ita et amicus et necessarius est ut, etiamsi vir bonus non esset, tamen quod contra istum diceret grave videretur, ita vir bonus est ut, etiamsi inimicissimus isti esset,
167 tamen eius testimonio credi oporteret. Admiratur et exspectat quidnam Vettius dicturus sit. Nihil dicet ex tempore, nihil ex sua voluntate, nihil, cum utrumvis licuisse videatur. Misit in Siciliam litteras ad Carpinatium, cum esset magister scripturae et sex publicorum, quas ego Syracusis apud Carpinatium in litterarum allatarum libris, Romae in litterarum missarum apud magistrum L. Tullium, familiarem tuum, inveni; quibus ex litteris impudentiam faeneratoris, quaeso, cognoscite. LITTERAE MISSAE P. VETTII, P. SERVILII, C. ANTISTII MAGISTRORUM. Praesto se tibi ait futurum Vettius et observaturum quem ad modum rationes ad aerarium referas, ut, si hanc ex faenore pecuniam populo non rettuleris, reddas
168 societati. Possumus hoc teste, possumus P. Servilii et C. Antistii magistrorum litteris, primorum hominum atque honestissimorum, possumus auctoritate societatis, cuius litteris utimur, quod dicimus obtinere, an aliqua firmiora aut graviora quaerenda sunt? LXXII. Vettius, tuus familiarissimus, Vettius, tuus affinis, cuius sororem habes in matrimonio, tuae frater uxoris, Vettius, frater tui quaestoris, testatur litteris

[a] The meaning of *publicorum* is very doubtful.

Vettius Chilo, who is so friendly and intimate with Verres that even if he were not an honest man we should attach importance to anything he said against him, and who is so honest a man that even if he were Verres' worst enemy his evidence ought to be trusted.
Our friend is surprised, I see, and wonders what 167
Vettius means to say. He will say nothing devised for this occasion, nothing intended to suit his own purposes, though he might, surely, have said either with propriety. Vettius wrote a letter to Carpinatius in Sicily, as director of a company farming the pasture-tax and six other imposts,[a] a letter that I came upon in the house of Carpinatius at Syracuse among the files of letters received, and a copy of it at Rome in the house of Lucius Tullius, another director (and your intimate friend, Verres), among the files of letters dispatched: and I ask the Court to note our money-lender's shameless conduct as revealed in this letter. *The letter is read, signed by Vettius, Servilius, and Antistius, directors of the company.*—Vettius says he will be on the spot when you arrive, and will scrutinize the accounts you submit to the treasury, so as to make you pay the company the sum you received as interest, unless your accounts show it as
paid over to the state. Is this man's evidence—is 168
the signature of leading and respected men like these directors Servilius and Antistius—is the authority of the company whose records I am quoting—enough to substantiate my statement, or must I look for some still stronger and weightier proof of it? LXXII. Vettius your particularly close friend; Vettius your kinsman—the man whose sister you have married, your wife's brother; Vettius your own quaestor's brother: Vettius in his letter testifies to your com-

impudentissimum tuum furtum certissimumque peculatum; nam quo alio nomine pecuniae publicae faeneratio est appellanda? Scribam tuum dicit, Verres, huius perscriptorem faenerationis fuisse; ei quoque magistri minantur in litteris, et casu scribae tum duo magistri fuerunt cum Vettio. Binas centesimas ab sese ablatas ferendum non putant, et recte non putant. Quis enim hoc fecit umquam, quis denique conatus est facere aut fieri posse cogitavit, ut, cum senatus usura publicanos saepe iuvisset, magistratus a publicanis pecuniam pro usura auderet auferre? Certe huic homini spes nulla salutis esset, si publicani, hoc est si equites Romani iudicarent;
169 minor esse nunc, iudices, vobis disceptantibus debet, et tanto minor quanto est honestius alienis iniuriis quam re sua commoveri.

Quid ad haec respondere cogitas? utrum factum negabis an tibi hoc licitum esse defendes? Negare qui potes? an ut tanta auctoritate litterarum, tot testibus publicanis convincare? Licuisse vero qui? Si hercle te tuam pecuniam praetorem in provincia faeneratum docerem, tamen effugere non posses; sed publicam, sed ob frumentum decretam, sed a publi-

[a] Ex-clerks, now wealthy men, but still (like Horace after his rise) members of the clerks' Guild, and concerned for its honour. The clerk of Verres was probably threatened with expulsion from the guild for "unprofessional conduct."

[b] Either by allowing them discount for prompt payment to the Treasury, or by letting them defer such payment and invest the money meanwhile.

mitting this shameless and unquestionable act of theft and embezzlement—for what other name are we to give the lending of public money for your own benefit? He tells us that the accounts of this loan were kept by your clerk; and the directors in their letter threaten your clerk as well as yourself—it so happened that two of the directors, colleagues of Vettius, were clerks themselves.[a] They feel it intolerable that they should have the 24 per cent taken from them. And they are justified in feeling this. For what other magistrate has ever done, or indeed tried to do, or thought it possible to do, anything so impudent as this? Whereas the Senate has frequently helped tax-farmers by allowing them interest,[b] here is a magistrate who robs tax-farmers by taking interest from them!—This man would certainly have no chance of escape if this Court were composed of tax-farmers—in other words, of Roman knights.
His chance should be still smaller as it is, with you, 169
gentlemen, investigating the case: the more so that the resentment of other men's wrongs is a more creditable motive than the consideration of one's own advantage.

What answer do you contemplate making to this charge? Will you deny its truth, or will you plead that your action was lawful? Deny its truth—how can you? will you attempt it, only to be refuted by all these convincing documents and the evidence of all these tax-farmers? And how can you plead that your action was lawful? Why, good heavens, were I to prove that you, while governor of a province, had been lending out your own money there, even that would be enough to convict you. But it was public money, money voted for corn purchase, money

canis faenore acceptam, hoc licuisse cuiquam probabis? quo non modo ceteri, sed tu ipse nihil audacius improbiusque fecisti. Non mehercules hoc, quod omnibus singulare videtur, de quo mihi deinceps dicendum est, possum, iudices, dicere audacius esse aut impudentius, quod permultis civitatibus pro frumento nihil solvit omnino; maior haec praeda
170 fortasse, sed illa impudentia certe non minor. Et quoniam de illa faeneratione satis dictum est, nunc de hac tota pecunia aversa, quaeso, cognoscite.

LXXIII. Siciliae civitates multae sunt, iudices, ornatae atque honestae, ex quibus in primis numeranda est civitas Halaesina; nullam enim reperietis aut officiis fideliorem aut copiis locupletiorem aut auctoritate graviorem. Huic iste in annos singulos cum sexagena milia tritici modium imperavisset, pro tritico nummos abstulit, quanti erat in Sicilia triticum; quos de publico nummos acceperat, retinuit omnes. Obstipui, iudices, cum hoc mihi primum Halaesae demonstravit in senatu Halaesinorum homo summo ingenio, summa prudentia, summa auctoritate praeditus, Halaesinus Aeneas, cui senatus dederat publicam causam ut mihi fratrique meo gratias ageret, et simul qui nos ea quae ad iudicium pertinerent doceret.
171 Demonstravit hanc istius consuetudinem ac rationem

[a] *i.e.*, due to the state from the tax-farmers, for the period between its becoming payable to the State and its actually being paid to Verres, during which the holders had had the use of it.

[b] *i.e.*, as much as would have paid for 60,000 pecks at 3½ sesterces a peck.

[c] Lucius Tullius Cicero, the orator's cousin (*frater patruelis*), went with him to Sicily to help him collect his evidence.

received from the tax-farmers plus the interest already due[a]; and how will you make anyone believe that your lending out that money was lawful? You yourself, not to speak of others, have never done anything more shamelessly dishonest.—I assure you, gentlemen, that the action of which I have next to speak, an action that all men look upon as in a class by itself, his taking the corn from a great number of cities without paying for it at all—even that action I cannot call more boldly shameless than this one: more profitable perhaps, but certainly not more shameless. And now, since enough has been said 170
of this money-lending business, I will, with your permission, give you the full story of the money he misappropriated in this other way.

LXXIII. Gentlemen, there are in Sicily many cities of fame and high repute, and among the foremost of these is to be reckoned the city of Halaesa; for you will find none whose obligations are more scrupulously fulfilled, whose resources are more abundant, or whose opinion is more respected. Verres, having ordered this city to supply 60,000 pecks of wheat each year, took from it a sum of money equivalent to the current price of that amount of wheat in Sicily, and kept the whole of the public money that had been paid over to him.[b] I was astounded, gentlemen, when I received my first information about this, at a meeting of the city senate in Halaesa, from Aeneas, an extremely able, judicious and influential citizen of that place, who had been officially instructed by his senate to convey the city's thanks to myself and my cousin,[c] and at the same time to give us any information bearing on this trial. Aeneas 171
informed me that Verres' regular procedure was as

fuisse: quod omnis frumenti copia decumarum nomine penes istum esset redacta, solitum esse istum pecuniam cogere a civitatibus, frumentum improbare, quantum frumenti esset Romam mittendum, tantum de suo quaestu ac de sua copia frumenti mittere. Posco rationes, inspicio litteras, video frumenti granum Halaesinos, quibus sexagena milia modium imperata erant, nullum dedisse, pecuniam Volcatio, Timarchidi, scribae dedisse; reperio genus huius modi, iudices, praedae, ut praetor, qui frumentum emere debeat, non emat sed vendat, pecunias, quas civitatibus distribuere debeat, eas omnes avertat atque auferat. Non mihi iam furtum sed monstrum ac prodigium videbatur civitatum frumentum improbare, suum probare; cum suum probasset, pretium ei frumento constituere; quod constituisset, id a civitatibus auferre, quod a populo Romano accepisset, tenere.

172 LXXIV. Quot vultis esse in uno furto peccatorum gradus, ut, si singulis insistere velim, progredi iste non possit? Improbas frumentum Siculorum. Quid? ipse quod mittis? peculiarem habes aliquam Siciliam quae tibi ex alio genere frumentum suppeditare possit? Cum senatus decernit ut ematur in Sicilia frumentum, aut cum populus iubet, hoc, ut opinor, intellegit, ex Sicilia Siculum frumentum apportari oportere; tu cum civitatum Siciliae vulgo omne frumentum improbas, num ex Aegypto aut Syria

[a] *i.e.*, before you are satisfied that any further defence of Verres is impossible.

follows. Having had the whole of the corn brought where he could deal with it, ostensibly for tithe purposes, he would make the several cities pay him money, refusing to pass their corn, and sending to Rome the amount he had to send there by drawing on his own ill-gotten supplies. I asked for the city's accounts, and examined these records. I found that Halaesa, which had been ordered to supply 60,000 pecks of corn a year, had not paid over one grain, but that they had paid money to Volcatius, to Timarchides, and to Verres' clerk. You see, gentlemen, the type of robbery I thus unearthed. A governor whose duty it is to buy corn sells it instead, embezzling and walking off with all the money which it is his duty to pay to the various states. I felt that it was something too monstrously unnatural to be called a mere robbery, this plan of refusing to pass the cities' corn and passing his own, then setting a price on this corn of his own, exacting a corresponding sum from the cities, and keeping the money paid over to him by the Roman nation.

LXXIV. If I choose to expose one by one the various criminal steps taken in this one robbery, how far will you have me go before bringing Verres to a standstill?[a]—You refuse to pass the Sicilians' corn. Why then, what of the corn you send off yourself? have you got some private Sicily of your own that is able to supply you with corn of a different quality? When the Senate decrees and the assembly votes for the purchase of corn in Sicily, it is presumably aware that the corn to be brought here from Sicily is Sicilian corn; and when you refuse to pass any of the corn of the Sicilian cities anywhere, you do not, I take it, mean to send corn to Rome from Egypt or 172

frumentum Romam missurus es? Improbas Halaesinum, Thermitanum, Cephaloeditanum, Amestratinum, Tyndaritanum, Herbitense, multarum praeterea civitatum! Quid accidit tandem, ut horum populorum agri frumentum eius modi te praetore ferrent—quod numquam antea—ut neque tibi neque populo Romano posset probari, praesertim cum ex isdem agris eiusdem anni frumentum ex decumis Romam mancipes advexissent? quid acciderat, ut ex eodem horreo decumanum probaretur, emptum improbaretur? Dubiumne est quin ista omnis improbatio cogendae pecuniae causa nata sit?

173 Esto, improbas Halaesinum, habes ab alio populo quod probes: eme illud quod placet, missos fac eos quorum frumentum improbasti. Sed ab iis quos repudias exigis tantum pecuniae quantum ad eum numerum frumenti satis sit quem ei civitati imperas emendum. In medimna singula video ex litteris publicis tibi Halaesinos HS quinos denos dedisse. Ostendam ex tabulis locupletissimorum aratorum eodem tempore neminem in Sicilia pluris frumentum vendidisse. LXXV. Quae est ergo ista ratio aut quae potius amentia, frumentum improbare id quod ex eo loco sit ex quo senatus et populus Romanus emi voluerit, et ex eo acervo ex quo partem tu idem decumarum nomine probaris, deinde a civitatibus

[a] And therefore officially passed as of good quality.

[b] The exaction must have been defended as a loan of ready money wherewith to buy good corn elsewhere—a loan to be repaid later from the public money when it was convenient. Had it in fact been repaid, Halaesa would not have had very much to complain of except the loss of the higher price (21 sesterces) for its corn.

Syria. You refuse to pass the corn of Halaesa, Thermae, Cephaloedium, Amestratus, Tyndaris, Herbita, and many other cities as well as these. May I ask what has happened to make the land of these communities, while you are governor, for the first time in history bear corn of a quality unfit to be passed by you or by the nation, in spite of the fact that the agents have already conveyed to Rome, as tithe,[a] corn grown on the same land in the same year? What has happened to allow the tithe corn to pass and cause the purchase corn out of the same barn to be rejected? The whole of this refusal of yours to pass the corn is quite clearly a scheme devised for extracting money.

Well, well, you refuse to pass the Halaesa corn, 173
but there is corn from some other nation available, which you can pass. Purchase the corn that satisfies you, then, and let those go whose corn you have refused to pass. Oh no, not at all. From these people whose corn you have rejected you exact a sum of money enough to purchase the amount of corn you ordered them to supply.[b] I see, from the public records of Halaesa, that the city paid you 15 sesterces for every bushel. I will prove, from the accounts of the wealthiest farmers, that no one in Sicily sold his corn at that time for more than that.[c] LXXV. Now what sort of scheme, or rather what sort of madness, have we here? You refuse to pass corn grown in the place from which the Roman Senate and people said they would have it purchased, corn taken from a heap one part of which you yourself have already passed as tithe corn; and then you

[c] And therefore the average price paid was less, and Verres took too much even for his ostensible purpose.

pecuniam ad emendum frumentum cogere, cum ex aerario acceperis? Utrum enim te lex Terentia Siculorum pecunia frumentum emere an populi Romani pecunia frumentum a Siculis emere iussit?
174 Iam vero ab isto omnem illam ex aerario pecuniam, quam his oportuit civitatibus pro frumento dari, lucri factam videtis. Accipis enim HS XV medimno; tanti enim est illo tempore medimnum; retines HS XXI; tanti enim est frumentum Siciliense ex lege aestimatum. Quid interest utrum hoc feceris an frumentum Siciliense non improbaris, sed frumento probato et accepto pecuniam publicam tenueris omnem neque quicquam ulli dissolveris civitati? cum aestimatio legis eius modi sit ut ceteris temporibus tolerabilis Siculis, te praetore etiam grata esse debuerit. Est enim modius lege HS IIIS aestimatus, fuit autem te praetore, ut tu in multis epistulis ad amicos tuos gloriaris, HS II. Sed fuerit HS IIS, quoniam tu tantum a civitatibus in modios singulos exegisti; cum, si solveres Siculis tantum quantum populus Romanus iusserat, aratoribus fieri gratissimum posset, tu non modo eos accipere quod oportebat noluisti, sed etiam dare quod non debebant
175 coegisti? Atque haec ita gesta esse, iudices, cognoscite et ex litteris publicis civitatum et ex testimoniis publicis, in quibus nihil fictum, nihil ad tempus

[a] See § 163.

exact money from the cities for the purchase of corn, when you have had the money for that already paid to you by the Treasury. What, did the law of Terentius[a] bid you buy corn with the Sicilians' money instead of buying it from the Sicilians with
Roman money?—And now, gentlemen, you perceive 174
that the whole of the money from the treasury, which ought to have been paid to these cities for their corn, went into the man's own coffers.—For you got 15 sesterces a bushel, that being then the local price, and you kept 21 sesterces a bushel, that being the price fixed by law to be paid for Sicilian corn. What is the difference between doing this and, instead of rejecting, passing and taking over the Sicilian corn and then keeping all the public money and never paying any of the cities anything? For the price fixed by law was a price that at any other time ought to have satisfied the Sicilians, and while you were their governor ought to have delighted them: the legal price was 3½ sesterces a peck, and actually, while you were governor, the price got was 2 sesterces, as you yourself boasted in a number of letters written to your friends. However, let us say that the actual price was 2½ sesterces, since you exacted that amount per peck from the cities. Had you paid the Sicilians the amount that the Roman nation bade you pay them, the farmers might well have been delighted; instead of which, you not only would not let them get what they were entitled to get, but actually made them pay what
they were not bound to pay. And that these things 175
were indeed done you shall learn, gentlemen, both from the official records and from the official evidence submitted by the cities, in which you will find no

accommodatum intellegetis; omnia quae dicimus rationibus populorum non interpositis neque perturbatis neque repentinis, sed certis, institutis, ordine relata atque confecta sunt. Recita. RATIONES HALAESINORUM. Cui pecuniam datam dicit? Dic etiam clarius. VOLCATIO, TIMARCHIDI, MAEVIO.

LXXVI. Quid est, Verres? ne illam quidem tibi defensionem reliquam fecisti, mancipes in istis rebus esse versatos, mancipes frumentum improbasse, mancipes pretio cum civitatibus decidisse, et eosdem abs te illarum civitatum nomine pecunias abstulisse, deinde ipsos sibi frumentum coemisse, nihil haec ad te pertinere. Mala mehercule ac misera defensio praetorem hoc dicere: "Ego frumentum neque attigi neque aspexi, mancipibus potestatem probandi improbandique permisi; mancipes a civitatibus pecunias extorserunt, ego autem quam pecuniam
176 populis dare debui mancipibus dedi!" Mala est haec quidem, ut dixi, ac potius perdita maximorum peccatorum, huius autem iniquitatis et inertiae confessio, non defensio criminis; sed tamen hac ipsa tibi, si uti cupias, non licet; vetat te Volcatius, tuae tuorumque deliciae, mentionem mancipis facere; Timarchides autem, columen familiae vestrae, premit fauces defensionis tuae, cui simul et Volcatio pecunia a civitatibus numerata est; iam vero scriba tuus anulo

[a] To send to Rome, as the law required, and as Verres, according to Cicero, did by drawing on his private stocks. The *mancipes* seem to be trading firms who would carry through the purchase of the corn on Verres' behalf and its transport to Rome on behalf of the cities.

[b] *i.e.*, his signature; and so in the following clauses.

inventions, no adjustments to suit my purpose: all that I am telling you is there in the accounts of these cities, which show no interpolations or rearrangements or sudden additions, but are precise and straightforward, with all the facts entered in their proper order.—Read them to us.—*The Halaesa accounts are read.*—To whom does it say the money was paid? Speak still louder. "To Volcatius, Timarchides and Maevius."

LXXVI. Now, Verres, you have deprived yourself even of the plea that it was merchants who were concerned with these transactions, merchants who refused to pass the corn, merchants who made the cities arrange to pay that money; that these persons had money from you to pay the cities, and subsequently themselves bought corn for their own purposes,[a] and that you are in no way responsible for these doings. A miserably weak plea, upon my word, for a governor to put forward—"I never handled that corn or even set eyes on it; I authorized the merchants to pass or reject it; it was the merchants who extorted those sums from the cities, and I paid the merchants the money I ought to have paid the cities!" Such a plea, as I have said, is a weak, nay, 176
a hopeless plea wherewith to excuse grave misconduct; it is a confession of the injustice and slothfulness that it implies, and not a defence against the charge. And yet you may not make use of this plea, bad as it is, even if you would. Volcatius,[b] that favourite of you and yours, forbids you to talk of "merchants"; Timarchides, that pillar of your household, strangles your plea for you—the man to whom, along with Volcatius, Halaesa paid over the money; and indeed your clerk, with the golden ring

aureo suo, quem ex his rebus invenit, ista te ratione uti non sinet. Quid igitur est reliquum nisi uti fateare te Romam frumentum emptum Siculorum pecunia misisse, publicam pecuniam domum tuam convertisse?

O consuetudo peccandi, quantam habes iucunditatem improbis et audacibus, cum poena afuit et
177 licentia consecuta est! Iste in hoc genere peculatus non nunc primum invenitur, sed nunc demum tenetur. Vidimus huic ab aerario pecuniam numerari quaestori ad sumptum exercitus consularis, vidimus paucis post mensibus et exercitum et consulem spoliatum; illa omnis pecunia latuit in illa caligine ac tenebris quae totam rem publicam tum occuparant. Iterum gessit hereditariam quaesturam, cum a Dolabella magnam pecuniam avertit; sed eius rationem cum damnatione Dolabellae permiscuit. Commissa est pecunia tanta praetori; non reperietis hominem timide nec leviter haec improbissima lucra ligurrientem; devorare omnem pecuniam publicam non dubitavit. Ita serpit illud insitum in natura malum consuetudine peccandi libera, finem ut audaciae statuere ipse non possit.
178 Tenetur igitur aliquando, et in rebus cum maximis tum manifestis tenetur; atque in eam fraudem mihi videtur divinitus incidisse, non solum ut eas poenas quas proxime meruisset solveret, sed ut illa etiam scelera eius in Carbonem et in Dolabellam vindicarentur.

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[a] His profits enabled him to reach the standard, and wear the badge, of the equestrian census. His ring would have a seal and be used to seal his signature to the document recording the transaction.

[b] The affair of Book i. §§ 34-37.

[c] From Malleolus; see Book i. § 90.

[d] See Book i. §§ 95-98.

that accrued to him from these transactions,[a] will prevent your taking such a line of defence. What then is left for you but to confess that you sent to Rome corn purchased with the Sicilians' money, and diverted the public money into your own purse?

What pleasures habitual wrongdoing provides for men without principle or sense of shame, when they have escaped punishment and found themselves given a free hand! This is not the first time that 177
Verres has been found thus robbing the state, though it is only now that his guilt is proved. We have seen how money was paid to him as quaestor from the treasury for the maintenance of a consular army, and we have seen how a few months later army and consul were despoiled of that money;[b] but it all disappeared in the fog and darkness that at that time overspread the whole country. Once again he held the office of quaestor—this time inherited[c]—and embezzled a large sum of money from Dolabella; but he got the responsibility for this connected with Dolabella's conviction.[d] And now when all this money was entrusted to him as governor, you will not find the man licking cautiously and delicately at these wicked gains; without hesitation, he swallowed all that public money at a gulp. The opportunity for habitual misconduct has developed his natural viciousness, until he has become incapable of setting bounds to his own impudence. Well, his guilt is being 178
brought home to him at last, the guilt of deeds as monstrous as they are manifest. And I look on him as entrapped thus by the will of heaven, so that he may not only pay the just penalty of his most recent deeds, but atone likewise for his former crimes against Carbo and Dolabella.

LXXVII. Etenim nova quoque alia res, iudices, exstitit in hoc crimine, quae tollat omnem dubitationem superioris illius decumani criminis. Nam ut illud missum faciam, permultos aratores in alteras decumas et in haec DCCC milia modium quod emptum populo Romano darent non habuisse, et a tuo procuratore, hoc est ab Apronio, emisse, ex quo intellegi potest nihil te aratoribus reliqui fecisse,—ut hoc praeteream, quod multorum est testimoniis expositum, potest illo quicquam esse certius, in tua potestate atque in tuis horreis omne frumentum Siciliae per triennium atque omnes fructus agri decumani fuisse?
179 Cum enim a civitatibus pro frumento pecuniam exigebas, unde erat frumentum quod Romam mitteres, si tu id non omne clausum et compressum possidebas? Ita in eo frumento primus tibi ille quaestus erat ipsum frumentum quod erat ereptum ab aratoribus, alter, quod frumentum improbissime per triennium partum non semel sed bis, neque uno sed duobus pretiis unum et idem frumentum vendidisti, semel civitatibus HS XV in medimnum, iterum populo Romano, a quo HS XXI in medimna pro eodem illo frumento abstulisti.

180 At enim frumentum Centuripinorum et Agrigentinorum et non nullorum fortasse praeterea probasti et his populis pecuniam dissolvisti. Sint sane aliquae civitates in eo numero quarum frumentum improbare nolueris; quid tandem? his civitatibus omnisne

LXXVII. There is indeed, gentlemen, a new and special fact brought into prominence by this charge, such a fact as finally confirms the previous charge connected with the tithes. Even should I let pass the point that a great many farmers had no corn for that second tithe, for those 800,000 pecks they were to supply for sale to the Roman nation, and that they had to buy it from your agent, in other words from Apronius—which shows clearly enough that you had left those farmers with no corn at all; even if I pass over this fact of which many witnesses have given clear evidence, can there be any fact more certain than that for three years all the corn of Sicily, all the harvests of the tithe-paying land, were in your granaries and under your control? For when 179
you exacted money from the cities in lieu of corn, where did you find corn to send to Rome, unless you had it all shut up under lock and key in your own keeping? Thus the first profit you made from this corn was that part of the corn itself which you forced out of the farmers, and the other profit came from the way in which you took all that you so unscrupulously acquired during those three years, and sold exactly the same corn not once but twice, and not for one price but two, first to the cities for 15 sesterces a bushel, and then precisely the same corn to the Roman nation, which you cheated of 21 sesterces for every bushel of it.

It will be argued that you did pass the corn of 180
Centuripa, Agrigentum, and perhaps some other places as well, and that you did pay these communities their money. Well, granted that a certain number of cities belong to the class of those whose corn you consented to pass, what then? were these

pecunia quae pro frumento debita est dissoluta est? Unum mihi reperi non populum, sed aratorem; vide, quaere, circumspice, si quis est forte ex ea provincia, in qua tu triennium praefuisti, qui te nolit perisse; unum, inquam, da mihi ex illis aratoribus qui tibi ad statuam pecuniam contulerunt, qui sibi dicat omne esse pro frumento quod oportuerit solutum. Confirmo, iudices, neminem esse dicturum.

181 LXXVIII. Ex omni pecunia quam aratoribus solvere debuisti certis nominibus deductiones fieri solebant, primum pro spectatione et collybo, deinde pro nescio quo cerario. Haec omnia, iudices, non rerum certarum, sed furtorum improbissimorum sunt vocabula. Nam collybus esse qui potest, cum utuntur omnes uno genere nummorum? Cerarium vero—quid? quo modo hoc nomen ad rationes magistratus, quo modo ad pecuniam publicam allatum est? Nam illud genus tertium deductionis erat eius modi quasi non modo liceret sed etiam oporteret, nec solum oporteret sed plane necesse esset. Scribae nomine de tota pecunia binae quinquagesimae detrahebantur. Quis hoc tibi concessit, quae lex, quae senatus auctoritas, quae porro aequitas, ut tantam pecuniam scriba tuus auferret sive de aratorum bonis sive
182 de populi Romani vectigalibus? Nam si potest ista pecunia sine aratorum iniuria detrahi, populus Romanus habeat, in tantis praesertim aerarii angustiis;

[a] See Book ii. §§ 141-168.

[b] *i.e.*, for costs really incurred or real work performed.

[c] It was probably used for a "sealing fee" customary in private contracts.

[d] *Nam*: *i.e.*, I may well ask that question about "wax-money," *for* it might appear quite out of place when we come to the third kind of deduction.

cities paid for their corn all the money due to them? Find me one community, find me one single farmer—search, inquire, look round everywhere, and see if there is a single one, in this province you governed for three years, who does not hope for your ruin; of all those farmers who subscribed for your statue,[a] show me a single one, I repeat, who says that the full amount due to him for his corn has been paid to him. I tell you, gentlemen, not one of them will say so.

LXXVIII. From the full sum that you should have 181
paid to those farmers deductions, under this head or that, were regularly made. The first was for "inspection and exchange," the second for something called "wax-money." All these terms, gentlemen, are not names for real things[b]: they are names for impudent pieces of theft. How can there be any exchange, where a single coinage is in universal use? And as for "wax-money"—why, how can such a term have any connexion with magistrates' accounts and public money[c]? The third kind of deduction, on the other hand,[d] wore the air of being permissible—of being desirable—of being entirely necessary. Two-fiftieths of the whole of the payments made were subtracted under the heading "clerk." Who gave you leave for that? what law, what authority from the Senate, and moreover what principle of justice, gave leave for your clerk to carry off all that money, whether from the farmers' resources or from
the revenues of the Roman nation? If that amount 182
can be deducted without injustice to the farmers, let the nation have it, especially with the treasury

sin autem et populus Romanus voluit et aequum est ita solvi aratoribus, tuus apparitor parva mercede populi conductus de aratorum bonis praedabitur? Et in hac causa scribarum ordinem in me concitabit Hortensius, et eorum commoda a me labefactari atque oppugnari iura dicet? Quasi vero hoc scribis ullo exemplo sit aut ullo iure concessum. Quid ego vetera repetam, aut quid eorum scribarum mentionem faciam quos constat sanctissimos homines atque innocentissimos fuisse? Non me fugit, iudices, vetera exempla pro fictis fabulis iam audiri atque haberi; in his temporibus versabor miseris ac perditis. Nuper, Hortensi, quaestor fuisti. Quid tui scribae fecerint, tu potes dicere; ego de meis hoc dico: cum in eadem ista Sicilia pro frumento pecuniam civitatibus solverem et mecum duos frugalissimos homines scribas haberem, L. Mamilium et L. Sergium, non modo istas duas quinquagesimas sed omnino nummum nullum cuiquam esse deductum. LXXIX. Dicerem hoc mihi totum esse attribuendum, iudices, si illi umquam hoc a me postulassent, si umquam
183 omnino cogitassent. Quam ob rem enim scriba deducat, et non potius mulio qui advexit, tabellarius cuius adventu certiores facti petiverunt, praeco qui adire iussit, viator aut Venerius qui fiscum sustulit?

[a] When he was quaestor (in western Sicily) to Peducaeus (75 B.C.).

depleted as it now is; if the nation has willed that it should be paid to the farmers, and if it is just that it should be so paid, shall a fellow whom the nation pays a few shillings a week to work in your office go preying upon the farmers' property?

And is it in defence of such a system that Hortensius means to rouse the whole clerical class against me, declaring that I am endangering its interests and attacking its rights? As if clerks had any precedent for doing what that man did, or any recognized right to do it! I need not go back to the old days, nor speak of those clerks whom we all know to have been men of blameless honour. I am not unaware, gentlemen, that ancient precedents are now listened to, and regarded, as romantic inventions, and I will confine myself to our own unhappily degenerate days. You, Hortensius, were a quaestor not many years ago, and how your clerks behaved you can best tell us: how mine behaved I will now tell you. In this same province of Sicily I had with me [a] as clerks two thoroughly honest men, Lucius Mamilius and Lucius Sergius; and when I was paying the cities money for their corn, not only was the Verrine deduction of two-fiftieths not made, but not one penny was deducted from the payment made to anyone. LXXIX. For this, gentlemen, I should take the whole credit to myself, if those men had ever asked my permission to do otherwise, or ever thought for one moment of doing so. Why, indeed, should there 183
be deductions for the clerk? why not, instead, for the mule-driver who has brought the money, the postman whose arrival with the advices enabled them to apply for it, the attendant who bade them come in and get it, the porter or temple slave who took

Quae pars operae aut opportunitatis in scriba est cur ei non modo merces tanta detur, sed cur cum eo tantae pecuniae partitio fiat? "Ordo est honestus." Quis negat, aut quid ea res ad hanc rem pertinet? Est vero honestus, quod eorum hominum fidei tabulae publicae periculaque magistratuum committuntur. Itaque ex his scribis qui digni sunt illo ordine, patribus familiis,[1] viris bonis atque honestis, percontamini quid sibi istae quinquagesimae velint: iam omnibus intellegetis novam rem totam atque indignam videri.
184 Ad eos me scribas revoca, si placet; noli hos colligere, qui nummulis corrogatis de nepotum donis ac de scaenicorum corollariis, cum decuriam emerunt, ex primo ordine explosorum in secundum ordinem civitatis se venisse dicunt. Eos scribas tecum disceptatores huius criminis habebo qui istos scribas esse moleste ferunt. Tametsi cum in eo ordine videamus esse multos non idoneos, qui ordo industriae propositus est et dignitati, mirabimur turpes aliquos ibi esse quo cuivis pretio licet pervenire? LXXX. Tu ex pecunia publica HS terdeciens scribam tuum permissu tuo cum abstulisse fateare, reliquam tibi ullam defensionem putas esse? hoc quemquam ferre posse, hoc quemquam denique nunc tuorum advocatorum

[1] familias *O*: *but Priscian quotes this passage as an instance of the dative used instead of the more usual genitive* (*see Long's note in his edition*).

[a] Rich *habitués* of the theatre would pay the *claqueurs* to applaud or hiss particular actors, who had to spend part of their pay or their presents in securing these persons' favour.

[b] Lit. "a section" of the whole body, in which the new member would pay a large entrance-fee to be enrolled.

[c] There is play made with the literal sense of *ordo*, "row (of seats in the theatre)." I follow Long in supposing *explosorum* to be the genitive plural of *explosor* (though the word is not found elsewhere) and not that of *explosus*: see note *a* above.

away the empty basket? The clerk's share in the business is not so laborious or so valuable as to entitle him to receive, in addition to his salary, so large a share of the money itself. "The clerk's profession" you tell us "has a high standing." Who denies that? and what has it to do with the matter in hand? It has, in fact, a high standing because its members are entrusted with the public accounts and the reputations of our magistrates. Go then to those clerks who are worthy members of their profession, honest and reputable family men, and ask them what those two-fiftieths deductions mean. You will soon find that all of them regard the whole thing as a scandalous innovation. But please let me refer the question 184
to such clerks as these. Do not consider the men who have scraped together enough cash, from the presents of wasters[a] or the gratuities of actors, to buy themselves membership[b] of the profession, and then boast of having risen from the front rank[c] among the playhouse rowdies to the second rank in the public service. On the charge before us you and I must take the opinion of clerks who resent the membership of such men as that: though the fact is that, when we find a number of unfit persons in a profession intended for men of industry and character, we can hardly wonder that some people should disgrace themselves in a position that is open to anyone who will pay for it.—LXXX. As for you, Verres, when you confess that your clerk appropriated £13,000 of public money with your consent, can you conceive that any further defence of yourself is possible? can you suppose that anyone will tolerate such conduct? that anyone even among your own supporters is at this moment hearing without indignation how, in the

animo aequo audire arbitrare, qua in civitate C. Catoni, consulari homini, clarissimo viro, HS $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ lis aestimata sit, in eadem civitate apparitori tuo esse concessum ut HS terdeciens uno nomine auferret?

185 Hinc ille est anulus aureus quo tu istum in contione donasti; quae tua donatio singulari impudentia nova Siculis omnibus, mihi vero etiam incredibilis videbatur. Saepe enim nostri imperatores superatis hostibus, optime re publica gesta, scribas suos anulis aureis in contione donarunt: tu vero quibus rebus gestis, quo hoste superato contionem donandi causa advocare ausus es? Neque enim solum scribam tuum anulo, sed etiam virum fortissimum ac tui dissimillimum, Q. Rubrium, excellentem virtute, auctoritate, copiis, corona et phaleris et torque donasti, M. Cossutium, sanctissimum virum atque honestissimum, M. Castricium, summo splendore, ingenio, gratia

186 praeditum. Quid haec sibi horum trium civium Romanorum dona voluerunt? Siculos praeterea potentissimos nobilissimosque donasti, qui non, quem ad modum sperasti, tardiores fuerunt, sed ornatiores tuo iudicio ad testimonia dicenda venerunt. Quibus ex hostium spoliis, de qua victoria, qua ex praeda aut manubiis haec abs te donatio constituta est? an quod te praetore paucorum adventu myoparonum classis pulcherrima, Siciliae praesidium propugnaculumque provinciae, piratarum manibus incensa

[a] Grandson of Cato the censor: consul in 114: thereafter governor in Macedonia, for extortion in which province he was prosecuted with the result stated.

[b] These were essentially *military* decorations: hence the tone of what follows.

country in which so distinguished a man as the former consul Gaius Cato[a] was condemned to pay a fine of £80, your office-assistant has been allowed to appropriate £13,000 pounds under one single heading?

And hence the golden ring with which you publicly 185 presented that man of yours: a peculiarly impudent proceeding of yours, which startled all Sicily, and was more than I myself could at first believe. Often, indeed, when an enemy has been defeated and a great victory won for Rome, the commanders of our armies have publicly presented their clerks with golden rings. But what victory had you won, what enemy had you defeated, that you should dare to summon a public meeting at which to make such presentations? For you not only presented your clerk with a ring: you also presented Quintus Rubrius—a fine man of a very different type from yourself, notable for his valour, personal influence and prosperity—with chaplet, breast-bosses and neck-chain,[b] and also the upright and respected Marcus Cossutius, and the distinguished, able and popular Marcus Castricius. What was the meaning of these 186 presentations to these three Roman citizens? And you made other presentations to powerful Sicilians of high rank, whose ardour was not damped thereby as you hoped it would be—they have but come better equipped by your own pronouncement to give their evidence. What spoils taken from the enemy, what victory won, what booty or plunder provided you with the means of these presentations? was it because, while you were governor of Sicily, the pirates arrived in a few schooners, and with their own hands set on fire the splendid fleet that was the main defence of the province's safety? or was it because,

est? an quod ager Syracusanus praedonum incendiis te praetore vastatus est? an quod forum Syracusanum nauarchorum sanguine redundavit? an quod in portu Syracusano piraticus myoparo navigavit? Nihil possum reperire quam ob rem te in istam amentiam incidisse arbitrer, nisi forte id egisti ut hominibus ne oblivisci quidem rerum tuarum male gestarum liceret.

187 Anulo est aureo scriba donatus, et ad eam donationem contio est advocata. Quod erat os tuum, cum videbas in contione eos homines quorum ex bonis istum anulo aureo donabas, qui ipsi anulos aureos posuerant liberisque suis detraxerant, ut esset unde scriba tuus hoc tuum munus ac beneficium tueretur? Quae porro tua praefatio[1] donationis fuit? Illa scilicet vetus atque imperatoria, QUANDOQUE TU QUIDEM IN PROELIO, IN BELLO, IN RE MILITARI? cuius ne mentio quidem te praetore ulla facta est: an illa, QUANDOQUE TU NULLA UMQUAM MIHI IN CUPIDITATE AC TURPITUDINE DEFUISTI OMNIBUSQUE IN ISDEM FLAGITIIS MECUM ET IN LEGATIONE ET IN PRAETURA ET HIC IN SICILIA VERSATUS ES, OB EAS RES TE, QUONIAM RE LOCUPLETAVI, HOC ANULO AUREO DONO? Vera haec fuisset oratio; neque enim iste anulus aureus abs te datus istum virum fortem, sed hominem locupletem esse

[1] praefectio tuae *Peterson with most MSS.*: *the reading in the text is that of O.*

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[a] The words *male gestarum* are thought to be interpolated.
[b] By being able to maintain his equestrian *census*.

while you were governor, the Syracusan territory was burnt and plundered by marauding bands? or was it because the market-place at Syracuse ran red with the blood of your naval commanders? or was it because that pirates' schooner went sailing up and down in the harbour of Syracuse? I can discover no reason for your tumbling into that piece of insanity, unless of course it was your purpose that the world should not forget, let alone forgive, your wretched[a] performances.

The clerk was presented with a gold ring—and a public meeting was called to witness the presentation. 187
How you should have blushed with shame to see, at that meeting, men at whose expense you were presenting the fellow with that gold ring, men who had taken off their own gold rings and stripped them from the hands of their children, to provide the wherewithal for your clerk to live up to[b] the benefaction you bestowed on him! And with what words did you preface the presentation? Presumably the traditional formula that our generals use, "Inasmuch as your conduct in battle and war and military service . . .," a thing never so much as mentioned while you were governor of Sicily. Or perhaps the words were "Inasmuch as you have never failed me in any matter of cupidity or filthiness, and have been associated with me in all my foul deeds, both when I was assistant governor, and when I was praetor in Rome, and here in Sicily: in recognition hereof, and having already enriched you with substance, I now present you with this gold ring"? This would have been the truth: for that gold ring, being your gift, does not proclaim your clerk a brave man; it only proclaims him a wealthy person. That ring, given

declarat. Ita eundem anulum ab alio datum testem virtutis duceremus, abs te donatum comitem pecuniae iudicamus.

188 LXXXI. Dictum, iudices, est de decumano frumento, dictum de empto, extremum reliquum est de aestimato; quod cum magnitudine pecuniae tum iniuriae genere quemvis debet commovere, tum vero eo magis quod ad hoc crimen non ingeniosa aliqua defensio sed improbissima confessio comparatur. Nam cum ex senatus consulto et ex legibus frumentum in cellam ei sumere liceret idque frumentum senatus ita aestimasset, quaternis HS tritici modium, binis hordei, iste hordei[1] numero ad summam tritici adiecto tritici modios singulos cum aratoribus denariis ternis aestimavit. Non est in hoc crimen, Hortensi, ne forte ad hoc meditere, multos saepe viros bonos et fortes et innocentes cum aratoribus et cum civitatibus frumentum in cellam quod sumi oporteret aestimasse, et pecuniam pro frumento abstulisse. Scio quid soleat fieri, scio quid liceat; nihil quod antea fuerit in consuetudine bonorum nunc in istius
189 facto reprehenditur; hoc reprehendo, quod cum in Sicilia HS binis tritici modius esset, ut istius epistula

[1] hordei, *not here in the MSS., is the conjectural addition of modern editors.*

[a] The maximum amount was fixed (see § 225); it was more than was likely to be needed, as appears later.

[b] A liberal price for the wheat, and no doubt for the barley too; the intention would be to compensate the farmer or town for having to supply the corn at short notice or at a remote place.

[c] Either he reckoned 2 pecks of barley as 1 of wheat, which would be strictly honest, or else (by an abuse which, since Cicero says no more of it, must have been recognized) he reckoned each peck of barley as a peck of wheat. The calculation was, in any case, merely the first step in stating the amount of money claimed instead of corn of any kind.

by any other man, we should regard as a witness to the recipient's valour: given by you, we pronounce it an appendage of his money.

LXXXI. I have now dealt, gentlemen, with the 188
tithe corn, and I have dealt with the purchased corn: it only remains for me to deal with the commuted corn. This is a matter where the great sum stolen, and the foul wrong done, may well stir any man's heart to anger: and all the more so because this charge is being met not with any ingenious proof of innocence, but with an unblushing avowal of guilt. Verres was entitled, by law and by decree of the Senate, to receive corn for his own maintenance[a]; and whereas the price fixed by the Senate for this corn was four sesterces for a peck of wheat and two for a peck of barley,[b] he added his amount of barley to his quantity of wheat,[c] and then required the farmers to commute this corn for money at the rate of twelve sesterces[d] for a peck of wheat.—The charge is not that he took money instead of corn, Hortensius: it is vain for you to contemplate replying that many good upright honest men have many a time set a price on the maintenance corn due to them from farmers or from communities, and instead of their corn taken their money. I know what is usual; I know what is permissible; and there is here no attack upon any part of Verres' action that has hitherto been part of honest men's customary behaviour. The attack I do make is this: that whereas 189
a peck of wheat was then locally worth 2 sesterces

[d] *4 sestertii* = 1 *denarius.*

ad te missa declarat, summum HS ternis, id quod et testimoniis omnium et tabulis aratorum planum factum antea est, tum iste pro tritici modiis singulis ternos ab aratoribus denarios exegit; LXXXII. hoc crimen est, ut intellegas non ex aestimatione neque ex ternis denariis pendere crimen, sed ex coniunctione annonae atque aestimationis.

Etenim haec aestimatio nata est initio, iudices, non ex praetorum aut consulum sed ex aratorum et civitatum commodo. Nemo enim fuit initio tam impudens qui, cum frumentum deberetur, pecuniam posceret. Certe hoc ab aratore primum est profectum, aut ab ea civitate cui imperabatur: cum aut frumentum vendidisset aut servare vellet aut in eum locum quo imperabatur portare nollet, petivit in beneficii loco et gratiae ut sibi pro frumento quanti frumentum esset dare liceret. Ex huiusce modi principio atque ex liberalitate et accommodatione magistratuum consuetudo aestimationis introducta
190 est. Secuti sunt avariores magistratus, qui tamen in avaritia sua non solum viam quaestus invenerunt, verum etiam exitum ac rationem defensionis. Instituerunt semper in ultima ac difficillima ad portandum loca frumentum imperare, ut vecturae difficultate ad quam vellent aestimationem pervenirent. In hoc genere facilior est existimatio quam reprehensio, ideo

according to Verres' own letter to you, or 3 sesterces at the most, as has been demonstrated alike by the evidence of all our witnesses and by the farmers' accounts, Verres nevertheless exacted from the farmers 12 sesterces for every peck of wheat. LXXXII. That is the charge. It is based—let me make this plain to you—not on his taking money instead of corn, not on his taking 12 sesterces a peck, but on his taking it as he did when the market-price of corn was what it was.

The fact is, gentlemen, that the original reason for this practice of commutation was not the advantage of our praetors and consuls, but that of the communities and the farmers. No magistrate, at the outset, being entitled to corn, was shameless enough to demand money instead. Without question, the practice began with the farmer, or with the community, to whom the requisition was sent. They had sold their corn, or they wished to keep it, or they were unwilling to transport it to the place specified; so they asked, as a favour and a kindness, to be allowed, instead of supplying the corn, to pay over what the corn was worth. From such a source it was —from the good-nature of obliging magistrates—
that this practice of commutation came in. There 190
followed magistrates of a greedier sort: yet these men, with all their greed, discovered not only a way of enriching themselves, but a line of defence whereby to save their skins. They introduced the device of always requiring delivery of their corn at the remotest spots, to which its conveyance would cause the utmost trouble, so that the difficulty of transport might enable them to fix their own terms for commutation. Now it is easier to think ill of such conduct

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quod eum qui hoc facit avarum possumus existimare, crimen in eo constituere non tam facile possumus, quod videtur concedendum magistratibus nostris esse ut iis quo loco velint frumentum accipere liceat. Itaque hoc est quod multi fortasse fecerunt, sed ita multi ut ii quos innocentissimos meminimus aut audivimus non fecerint.

191 LXXXIII. Quaero nunc abs te, Hortensi: cum utrisne tandem istius factum collaturus es? Cum iis, credo, qui benignitate adducti per beneficium et gratiam civitatibus concesserunt ut nummos pro frumento darent. Ita credo petisse ab isto aratores ut, cum HS ternis tritici modium vendere non possent, pro singulis modiis ternos denarios dare liceret. An quoniam hoc non audes dicere, illuc confugies, vecturae difficultate adductos ternos denarios dare maluisse? Cuius vecturae? quo ex loco in quem locum ne portarent? Philomelio Ephesum? Video quid inter annonam interesse soleat, video quot dierum via sit, video Philomeliensibus expedire quanti Ephesi sit frumentum dare potius in Phrygia quam Ephesum portare aut ad emendum frumentum
192 Ephesum pecuniam et legatos mittere. In Sicilia vero quid eius modi est? Henna mediterranea est maxime. Coge ut ad aquam tibi, id quod summi

than to attack it. We may well think the man who behaves thus a greedy fellow: to prosecute him on this account is less easy, for it is held that our magistrates must not be denied the right of receiving their corn where they will. This therefore is a thing that, I dare say, has been done often enough: though not so often but that the truly scrupulous men of whom we know or have heard have refrained from doing it.

LXXXIII. And now I ask you, Hortensius, with 191
which sort of behaviour you think of comparing the behaviour of Verres. Doubtless, with the behaviour of those whose good-nature made them grant to the communities, as an act of grace and favour, permission to pay cash instead of corn. We can well believe that the farmers, unable to sell their wheat for 3 sesterces a peck, asked leave to pay cash instead of corn at the rate of 12 sesterces a peck. Or perhaps, since you dare not say that, you will resort to saying that it was the transport difficulty that made them prefer to pay the 12 sesterces? Transport? what transport, from what place and to what place, could they be so eager to avoid? One would suppose it was from Philomelium to Ephesus! I know the usual difference between the prices of corn at those two places; I know how long the journey takes; I know that it suits the farmers of Philomelium to pay, there in Phrygia, a cash sum corresponding to the price of corn at Ephesus, rather than transport the corn to Ephesus or send agents to Ephesus with money to buy corn there. But nothing of all this applies to 192
Sicily. No Sicilian town lies further from the coast than Henna: yet compel the folk of Henna to deliver you so much corn at the coast—and you cannot

iuris est, frumentum Hennenses admetiantur vel Phintiam vel Halaesam vel Catinam, loca inter se maxime diversa: eodem die quo iusseris deportabunt. Tametsi ne vectura quidem est opus. Nam totus quaestus hic, iudices, aestimationis ex annonae natus est varietate. Hoc enim magistratus in provincia assequi potest, ut ibi accipiat ubi est carissimum. Ideo valet ista ratio aestimationis in Asia, valet in Hispania, valet in iis provinciis in quibus unum pretium frumento esse non solet; in Sicilia vero quid cuiusquam intererat quo loco daret? neque enim portandum erat, et quo quisque vehere iussus esset, ibi tantidem frumentum emeret quanti domi
193 vendidisset. Quam ob rem si vis, Hortensi, docere aliquid ab isto simile in aestimatione atque a ceteris esse factum, doceas oportebit aliquo in loco Siciliae praetore Verre ternis denariis tritici modium fuisse.

LXXXIV. Vide quam tibi defensionem patefecerim, quam iniquam in socios, quam remotam ab utilitate rei publicae, quam seiunctam a voluntate ac sententia legis. Tu, cum tibi ego frumentum in meis agris atque in mea civitate, denique in iis locis in quibus es, versaris, rem geris, provinciam administras, paratus sim dare, angulum mihi aliquem eligas provinciae reconditum ac derelictum? iubeas ibi me

compel them to do more than that—at any one of places so widely sundered as Phintia, Halaesa and Catina, and they will transport the corn there within the day. Nor need they, indeed, transport it at all. All the profit from this practice of commutation, gentlemen, arises from the fact that the price of corn differs in different places; for our magistrates in their provinces are able to have their corn delivered to them where the price is highest; this commutation system is therefore effective in Asia, effective in Spain, effective in any province where the price of corn is not commonly the same everywhere. But in Sicily, what could it matter to anyone where he delivered his corn? he had not to transport it there; no matter where he might have been ordered to convey it, he would buy it there for just the price for which he had sold it at home.—If therefore, Hortensius, you 193
would show that Verres' conduct, in this commutation business, has some likeness to the conduct of other men, it will be for you to show that somewhere in Sicily, while Verres was its governor, the price of wheat was 12 sesterces a peck.

LXXXIV. Observe the line of defence I have opened for you; and observe what unfairness to our allies, what inconsistency with the public good, what contradiction of the purpose and meaning of the law, such a line of defence involves. I am ready to deliver your corn to you on my own land, in my own town, and, mark you, in the place where you are, where you are going about and doing your work and performing your duties as governor. Shall you nevertheless pick me out some far-away unoccupied corner of the province, and bid me deliver my measure of corn there—a place to which I cannot transport it without

metiri quo portare non expediat, ubi emere non
194 possim? Improbum facinus, iudices, non ferendum, nemini lege concessum, sed fortasse adhuc in nullo etiam vindicatum! Tamen ego hoc, quod ferri nego posse, Verri, iudices, concedo et largior. Si ullo in loco eius provinciae frumentum tanti fuit quanti iste aestimavit, hoc crimen in istum reum valere oportere non arbitror. Verum enim vero, cum esset HS binis aut etiam ternis quibusvis in locis provinciae, duodenos sestertios exegisti. Si mihi tecum neque de annona neque de aestimatione tua potest esse controversia, quid sedes, quid exspectas, quid defendis? utrum tibi pecuniae captae[1] conciliatae videntur adversus leges, adversus rem publicam, cum maxima sociorum iniuria, an vero id recte, ordine, e re publica, sine cuiusquam iniuria factum esse defendis?

195 Cum tibi senatus ex aerario pecuniam prompsisset et singulos tibi denarios adnumerasset quos tu pro singulis modiis aratoribus solveres, quid facere debuisti? Si quod L. Piso ille Frugi, qui legem de pecuniis repetundis primus tulit, cum emisses quanti esset, quod superaret pecuniae rettulisses; si ut ambitiosi homines aut benigni, cum pluris senatus aestimasset quam quanti esset annona, ex senatus aestimatione, non ex annonae ratione solvisses; sin ut plerique faciunt, in quo erat aliqui quaestus, sed is

[1] captae *is Mueller's reading: some MSS. read* coactae, *the others nothing.*

loss, and in which I cannot buy other corn instead of it?—A rascally act, gentlemen, an intolerable act, 194
a thing no man may legally do, even if, perhaps, no man hitherto has been punished for doing it. Nevertheless, gentlemen, I will let this thing, which I say is intolerable, be freely allowed to Verres. If there is one spot in all his province where the price of corn has reached the price in his commutation, I hold that this charge must not be accounted so grave as to tell against him here.—But the truth is that you exacted those 12 sesterces a peck when at no place within your province was the price above 2 sesterces, or 3 at the most. And if you cannot dispute what I say concerning either the price of corn or your commutation, then why do you still sit there? what hope have you? what defence can you make? Do you recognize yourself guilty of financial extortion, offending against the laws and the public interest, and treating our allies with the gravest injustice? Or do you indeed defend your conduct as upright—in order—in the public interest—unjust to nobody?

When the Senate drew that money from the 195
treasury for you, and paid it over to you with instructions to pay the farmers 4 sesterces for every peck of wheat, what ought you to have done? Had you acted like the famous Lucius Piso Frugi, the author of the first Extortion Law, you would have bought at the current price and repaid the balance to the treasury. Had you, like some others, been a kindly man or sought after popularity, the Senate having fixed a price above the current rate, you would have paid the farmers not at the current rate but at that fixed by the Senate. Had you done, as most men do, a thing that meant considerable gain, but gain of a

honestus atque concessus, frumentum, quoniam vilius erat, ne emisses, sumpsisses id nummorum quod tibi senatus cellae nomine concesserat.

LXXXV. Hoc vero quid est? quam habet rationem, non quaero aequitatis, sed ipsius improbitatis atque impudentiae? Neque enim est fere quicquam quod homines palam facere audeant in magistratu quamvis improbe, quin eius facti si non bonam at aliquam
196 rationem afferre soleant. Hoc quid est? Venit praetor; frumentum, inquit, me abs te emere oportet. —Optime.—Modium denario.—Benigne ac liberaliter; nam ego ternis HS non possum vendere.——Mihi frumentum non opus est, nummos volo.—Nam sperabam, inquit arator, me ad denarios perventurum, sed, si ita necesse est, quanti frumentum sit considera.—Video esse binis HS.—Quid ergo a me tibi nummorum dari potest, cum senatus tibi quaternos HS dederit?—Quid poscit? Attendite, et, vos quaeso,
197 simul, iudices, aequitatem praetoris attendite. Quaternos HS, quos mihi senatus decrevit et ex aerario dedit, ego habebo et in cistam transferam de fisco. —Quid postea? quid?—Pro singulis modiis quos tibi impero tu mihi octonos HS dato.—Qua ratione? —Quid quaeris rationem? non tantam rationem res habet quantam utilitatem atque praedam.—Dic, dic, inquit ille, planius. Senatus te voluit mihi nummos,

[a] That is, formally, as a prelude to demanding the cash payment instead.

respectable and recognized kind, you would have refused to buy the corn, because it was worth less, and you would have exacted money to the amount allowed you by the Senate for maintenance.

LXXXV. But now, what do we find you doing, and what explanation of it can be offered? I do not even ask what honest explanation, but what dishonourable and shameless one. There is hardly any action, however dishonourable, that governors in office venture openly to commit, of which they do not in general offer, if not a good explanation, at least an explanation of some kind. But what have we here? 196
Up comes the governor. "I am supposed to buy corn of you," he says.—Oh, by all means.—"And to pay you 4 sesterces a peck."—Most kind and generous, as I can't get 3 for it.—"But I don't need the corn; I want cash."—Well, says the farmer, I did hope I was going to handle the shillings; however, if it must be so, you will note what the current price is.—"Yes, 2 sesterces, I see."—Well, since the Senate has given you 4 sesterces a peck, how much money can be due from me to you?—How much does he demand, gentlemen? Note the amount, and note therewith, I beg you, the fair justice of our governor's behaviour.—"The 4 sesterces a peck, 197
which the Senate has assigned me and paid out to me from the treasury, I will keep, and transfer from the national funds to my private purse."—Well, and then what?—"For every peck of corn that I requisition [a] from you, you shall give me 8 sesterces."—What is the meaning of that?—"Meaning? meaning? there is no meaning in this affair; it is just a matter of profit and plunder."—I really don't follow you, says our farmer. The Senate meant you to

me tibi frumentum dare; tu eos nummos quos mihi senatus dare voluit ipse habebis; a me, cui singulos denarios a te dari oportuit, binos auferes et huic
198 praedae ac direptioni cellae nomen imponis? Haec deerat iniuria et haec calamitas aratoribus te praetore qua reliquis fortunis omnibus everterentur. Nam quid esse reliqui poterat ei qui per hanc iniuriam non modo fructum omnem amitteret, sed etiam instrumentum vendere cogeretur? Quonam se verteret? ex quo fructu nummos quos tibi daret inveniret? Decumarum nomine tantum erat ablatum quantum voluntas tulerat Aproni; pro alteris decumis emptoque frumento aut nihil datum aut tantum datum quantum reliqui scribae fecerant, aut ultro etiam, id quod didicistis, ablatum. LXXXVI. Cogantur etiam nummi ab aratore? quo modo, quo iure, quo exemplo? Nam cum fructus diripiebantur aratorum atque omni lacerabantur iniuria, videbatur id perdere arator quod aratro ipse quaesisset, in quo elaborasset, quod agri
199 segetesque extulissent; quibus iniuriis gravissimis tamen illud erat miserum solacium, quod id perdere videbatur quod alio praetore eodem ex agro reparare posset. Nummos vero ut det arator, quos non exarat, quos non aratro ac manu quaerit, boves et aratrum ipsum atque omne instrumentum vendat necesse est.

give me cash, and me to give you corn. You are going to keep for yourself the cash which the Senate meant you to give me, and then instead of paying me, as you ought, at the rate of 4 sesterces, to take twice as much from me, and describe this act of plunder and robbery as "maintenance"?—It needed 198
but this piece of calamitous injustice, when you were governor of Sicily, to complete the farmers' ruin. What resources could be left to a man forced by this outrage not only to lose all his harvest but to sell all his gear and stock? And what else could he do? What surplus had he from which to find the money to pay you? He had had taken from him, as a so-called tithe, as much as satisfied the good pleasure of Apronius. For the second tithe, and for the purchased corn, either he had either received nothing, or he had received the little that the other clerks had not appropriated; or even, as you have learnt from me, he had actually been robbed of still more. LXXXVI. And is he, besides all this, to have money extorted from him? On what system? with what justification? with what precedent? When the farmer's harvests were being swept off, and injustice of every kind was tearing his property to shreds, he saw himself losing all the profit that his own plough had brought him, his own hard toil won for him, his own land and crop borne for him. Yet, while suffer 199
ing these terrible wrongs, he had at least this pitiful consolation, that he saw himself losing what, under some other governor, that same land would enable him to regain. But for a farmer to pay money—a thing he cannot grow, nor his plough or his toil procure him—he must sell his oxen, his very plough, the whole of his gear and stock. You must not argue

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Non enim debetis hoc cogitare, 'habet idem in nummis, habet in urbanis praediis.' Nam cum aratori aliquid imponitur, non hominis si quae sunt praeterea facultates, sed arationis ipsius vis ac ratio consideranda est, quid ea sustinere, quid pati, quid efficere possit ac debeat; quamquam illi quoque homines sunt ab isto omni ratione exinaniti ac perditi; tamen hoc vobis est statuendum, quid aratorem ipsum arationis nomine muneris in rem publicam fungi ac sustinere velitis. Imponitis decumas, patiuntur; alteras, temporibus vestris serviendum putant; dent emptum
200 praeterea, dabunt, si voletis. Haec quam sint gravia, et quid his rebus detractis possit ad dominos puri ac reliqui pervenire, credo vos ex vestris impensis, ex vestris rebus rusticis coniectura assequi posse. Addite nunc eodem istius edicta, instituta, iniurias; addite Apronii Veneriorumque servorum in agro decumano regna ac rapinas. Quamquam haec omitto; de cella loquor. Placet vobis in cellam magistratibus vestris frumentum Siculos gratis dare? Quid hoc indignius, quid iniquius? Atque hoc scitote aratoribus Verre praetore optandum ac petendum fuisse.

LXXXVII. Sositheus est Entellinus, homo cum primis prudens et domi nobilis, cuius verba audietis,

[a] Even such men as have—or had—other resources than their farming profits.

thus, that this same man has the sum required in cash or in town property. When this or that burden is laid on a farmer, one is not to take account of such other resources as the individual may possess, but to consider the relative capacity of his farm in itself, asking how heavy a load it can and should carry, how large a profit it can and should bring him. In point of fact, even such men as that[a] Verres has sucked dry and ruined in every conceivable way: but apart from this, what you have to determine is how great a public burden you expect the farmer, as a farmer, to perform and undergo. You impose tithes on them, and they submit; additional tithes, and they feel they must serve you in your time of need; you bid them supply further corn for purchase, and if you wish for it they will supply it. How onerous 200
these demands are—how little, after all these subtractions, can remain untouched for the use of the original growers—you, gentlemen, can I think, guess for yourselves, knowing what you spend on your country estates and how much they yield you. Now reckon in with the rest Verres' orders and regulations and oppressive acts; reckon in the tyranny and the robberies of Apronius and the temple slaves throughout the tithe-paying areas. Yet with all this I am not now concerned. I am speaking of the maintenance corn only. Would you have the Sicilians supply your officials with maintenance corn gratis? Nothing could be more improper or more unfair: and now let me assure you that, when Verres was governor of Sicily, the farmers might well pray and implore to be treated thus.

LXXXVII. You shall hear what Sositheus of Entella has to say—a most sensible man and a man

qui ad hoc iudicium legatus publice cum Artemone et Menisco, primariis viris, missus est. Is cum in senatu Entellino multa mecum de istius iniuriis ageret, hoc dixit: si hoc de cella atque hac aestimatione concederetur, velle Siculos senatui polliceri frumentum in cellam gratis, ne posthac tantas pecunias
201 magistratibus nostris decerneremus. Perspicere vos certo scio Siculis quanto opere hoc expediat non ad aequitatem condicionis, sed ad minima malorum eligenda. Nam qui mille modium Verri suae partis in cellam gratis dedisset, duo milia nummum aut summum tria dedisset: idem nunc pro eodem numero frumenti HS $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ dare coactus est. Hoc arator assequi per triennium certe fructu suo non potuit; vendiderit instrumentum necesse est. Quodsi hoc munus et hoc vectigal aratio tolerare, hoc est Sicilia ferre ac pati potest, populo Romano ferat potius quam nostris magistratibus. Magna est enim pecunia, magnum praeclarumque vectigal, si modo id salva provincia, si sine iniuria sociorum percipere possumus. Nihil detraho magistratibus; tantundem detur in cellam quantum semper datum est; quod praeterea Verres imperat, id, si facere non possunt, recusent; si possunt, populi Romani potius hoc sit vectigal quam

[a] It is implied that the whole wealth of Sicily depends on her agriculture.

of high rank in his own community, who has been sent as an official deputy to attend this trial, along with two others, both men of standing, Artemo and Meniscus. At a meeting of the senate of Entella, in the course of a long speech, addressed to me, about Verres' oppressive acts, he said this: that if Verres' conduct in connexion with this commutation of maintenance corn should be allowed to pass, the Sicilians would willingly promise our Senate maintenance corn gratis, to prevent future decrees entitling our officials to such vast sums of money. I feel sure that 201
you perceive how greatly this would help the Sicilians, not indeed to secure fair treatment, but to embrace the least of possible evils. For the man who, out of his own share of his harvest, had supplied Verres gratis with a thousand pecks of corn for maintenance, would have paid him £20, or £30 at most; and as it is, that man has been forced to pay £80 instead of that same quantity of corn. It is certain that no farmer can have managed to make such payments, for three successive years, out of the produce of his harvests: he must have had to sell his gear and stock. And if agriculture can indeed support the imposition of such a tax—if Sicily, in other words,[a] can bear this burden—let her bear it for the benefit of Rome, and not of Roman officials. It means a large sum of money, a large addition to our revenues: a splendid addition, if we can acquire it without injuring our province and oppressing our allies. Our officials are to lose nothing; let as much be supplied for their maintenance as always has been supplied; what further amount Verres demands let the farmers refuse to supply, if they cannot supply it, and if they can, let it add to the nation's revenues

202 praeda praetoris. Deinde cur in uno genere solo frumenti ista aestimatio constituatur, si est aequa et ferenda? Debet populo Romano Sicilia decumas; det pro singulis modiis tritici ternos denarios, sibi habeat frumentum. Data tibi est pecunia, Verres, una qua frumentum tibi emeres in cellam, altera qua frumentum emeres a civitatibus quod Romam mitteres. Tibi datam pecuniam domi retines, et praeterea pecuniam permagnam tuo nomine aufers; fac idem in eo frumento quod ad populum Romanum pertinet; exige eadem aestimatione pecuniam a civitatibus, et refer quam accepisti: iam refertius erit
203 aerarium populi Romani quam umquam fuit. "At enim istam rem in publico frumento Sicilia non ferret, hanc rem in meo frumento tulit." Proinde quasi aut aequior sit ista aestimatio in tuo quam in populi Romani commodo, aut ea res quam ego dico et ea quam tu fecisti inter se genere iniuriae, non magnitudine pecuniae differat.

Verum istam ipsam cellam ferre nullo modo possunt; ut omnia remittantur, ut omnibus iniuriis et calamitatibus quas te praetore tulerunt in posterum liberentur, istam se cellam atque istam aestimationem
204 negant ullo modo ferre posse. LXXXVIII. Multa Sosippus Agrigentinus apud Cn. Pompeium consulem nuper, homo disertissimus et omni doctrina atque

and not to the governor's loot.—And further, why 202
is this commutation system of yours to be applied to corn of one description only, if it be a just and a tolerable system? Sicily has to pay tithes of corn to Rome: why not let her keep the corn and pay us 12 sesterces for every peck of it? You received one sum of money to buy corn for your own maintenance, and another sum to buy corn from the Sicilian communities and send it to Rome. The money received for your own purposes you keep, and you appropriate a very large additional sum that you allege to be due to yourself. Very well. Treat in the same way the corn due to the Roman nation, exact money at the same rate from the communities, pay the proceeds into the Roman treasury—and the Roman treasury will be fuller than it has ever been before. "Yes," 203
you may reply, "but in connexion with the national corn Sicily could not have borne the strain, whereas in connexion with my own corn she has borne it." Why, is your system of commutation fairer when it profits yourself than when it profits the nation? What I suggest involves a larger sum of money than what you have done involves, but the injustice is of precisely the same kind.

But the truth is that the Sicilians cannot possibly bear the strain even of your own maintenance. Even if all else were conceded them—even if they were delivered henceforth from all the disastrous wrongs they have suffered during your years of office—even so, they tell us, they cannot possibly bear the strain of your maintenance and your commutations.
LXXXVIII. Not long ago, Sosippus of Agrigentum, 204
an eloquent, accomplished and excellent man, is reported to have delivered a speech before our consul

virtute ornatissimus, pro tota Sicilia de aratorum miseriis graviter et copiose dixisse ac deplorasse dicitur; ex quibus hoc iis qui aderant—nam magno conventu acta res est—indignissimum videbatur: qua in re senatus optime ac benignissime cum aratoribus egisset, large liberaliterque aestimasset, in ea re praedari praetorem, bonis everti aratores, et id non modo fieri sed ita fieri quasi liceat concessumque sit.

205 Quid ad haec Hortensius? falsum esse crimen? Hoc numquam dicet. Non magnam hac ratione pecuniam captam? Ne id quidem dicet. Non iniuriam factam Siculis atque aratoribus? Qui poterit dicere? Quid igitur dicet? Fecisse alios. Quid est hoc? utrum crimini defensio an comitatus exilio quaeritur? Tu in hac re publica atque in hac hominum libidine et, ut adhuc habuit se status iudiciorum, etiam licentia, non ex iure, non ex aequitate, non ex lege, non ex eo quod oportuerit, non ex eo quod licuerit, sed ex eo quod aliqui fecerit, id quod reprehenditur

206 recte factum esse defendes? Fecerunt alii quidem alia multa[1]; cur in hoc uno crimine isto genere defensionis uteris? Sunt quaedam omnino in te singularia, quae in nullum hominem alium dici neque

[1] *The MSS. read* alia quam multa, *preceded by* alii quidem (*O*), alii quid (*V*), *or* aliqui (*most others*). *Peterson's* alii quidem aliquam multa *is very attractive.*

[a] *Tu* may refer to Verres, not Hortensius.

Gnaeus Pompeius, wherein, on behalf of Sicily as a whole, he set forth, with impressive fulness of detail, the lamentable distress of the farming class; and nothing in this speech stirred greater indignation in his hearers, who were present in large numbers, than his remark that a matter in which our Senate had treated the farmers especially well and kindly by fixing a generous and liberal price was made the occasion of plunder for the praetor and ruin for the farmers, and that this was not merely done but done as if it were a lawful and permissible thing to do.

What will Hortensius reply to this? That the 205 charge is false? He will never say that. That the sum of money acquired by this method was a small one? He will not say that either. That the people of Sicily, the farmers of Sicily, have not been wronged? And how can he possibly say that? What, then, will his reply be? That other men have done the same thing. What can this mean? Is the purpose to rebut the charge against Verres, or is it to secure him companions in his exile? With public affairs in such disorder—with misconduct so popular, and indeed (owing to the abuses prevalent till to-day in our courts of law) so freely permitted—will you, Hortensius,[a] defend against my attacks this behaviour of Verres, not as being within his rights, not as being fair, not as being legal, not on the ground that it was incumbent upon him or permissible for him to act thus, but on the ground that someone has acted

thus already? For that matter, other men have 206

acted ill in many other ways —why confine your present line of defence to this one charge?—Some of your crimes, Verres, are altogether peculiar to yourself—they could not be alleged against any

convenire possint, quaedam tibi cum multis communia. Ergo, ut omittam tuos peculatus, ut ob ius dicendum pecunias acceptas, ut eius modi cetera quae forsitan alii quoque iam[1] fecerint, illud in quo te gravissime accusavi, quod ob iudicandam rem pecuniam accepisses, eadem ista ratione defendes, fecisse alios? Ut ego assentiar orationi, defensionem tamen non probabo. Potius enim te damnato ceteris angustior locus improbitatis defendendae relinquatur,[2] quam te absoluto alii quod audacissime fecerunt recte fecisse existimentur.

207 LXXXIX. Lugent omnes provinciae, queruntur omnes liberi populi, regna denique etiam omnia de nostris cupiditatibus et iniuriis expostulant; locus intra Oceanum iam nullus est neque tam longinquus neque tam reconditus quo non per haec tempora nostrorum hominum libido iniquitasque pervaserit; sustinere iam populus Romanus omnium nationum non vim, non arma, non bellum, sed luctus, lacrimas, querimonias non potest. In eius modi re ac moribus si is qui erit adductus in iudicium, cum manifestis in flagitiis tenebitur, alios eadem fecisse dicet, illi exempla non deerunt: rei publicae salus deerit, si improborum exemplis improbi iudicio ac periculo
208 liberabuntur. Placent vobis hominum mores? placet ita geri magistratus ut geruntur? placet socios sic

[1] quoque etiam *MSS. and editors*: quoque iam *is my conjecture.*
[2] relinquetur (*Peterson*) *has also good MS. support.*

[a] *Ius dicere* is to interpret the law in a particular way: *rem iudicare* is to find for or against one party or the other, as the result of a trial, on the point of fact.

other man, nor be appropriate to any other man's character; but there are some that you share with many others. To pass over your thefts, and the bribes you accepted to pronounce false legal decisions,[a] and the other offences of this kind that others have perhaps committed before you, and to take the crime for which I have so vehemently attacked you, the acceptance of bribes to give unjust verdicts[b]—will you offer the same defence, that others have done the same? I may find truth in your statement; I shall deny value to your argument. Rather your condemnation, which will leave the rest less scope for defending their misconduct, than your acquittal, from which others would secure approval of their unscrupulous behaviour.

LXXXIX. Because of Roman greed and Roman injustice, all our provinces are mourning, all our free communities are complaining, and even foreign kingdoms are protesting. As far as the bounds of Ocean there is no spot now so distant or so obscure that the wanton and oppressive deeds of Romans have not penetrated thither. Not against the onset of the armies of the world in war, but against its groans and tears and lamentation, can Rome hold out no longer. When such are the facts, and such the prevailing moral standards, if any prosecuted person, upon his crimes being clearly demonstrated, shall plead that others have done the like, he will not find himself without precedents: but Rome will find herself without hope of escaping doom, if the precedents set by one scoundrel are to secure the acquittal and impunity of another. Are you satisfied with the prevailing moral standards? satisfied that our governors shall govern as they do? satisfied that our allies 207 208

tractari quod restat ut per haec tempora tractatos videtis? Cur haec a me opera consumitur? quid sedetis? cur non in media oratione mea consurgitis atque disceditis? Vultis autem istorum audacias ac libidines aliqua ex parte resecare? Desinite dubitare utrum sit utilius propter multos improbos uni parcere an unius improbi supplicio multorum improbitatem coercere.

209 XC. Tametsi quae ista sunt exempla multorum? Nam cum in causa tanta, cum in crimine maximo dici a defensore coeptum est factitatum esse aliquid, exspectant ii qui audiunt exempla ex vetere memoria, ex monumentis ac litteris, plena dignitatis, plena antiquitatis; XCI. haec enim plurimum solent et auctoritatis habere ad probandum et iucunditatis ad audiendum. Africanos mihi et Catones et Laelios commemorabis, et eos fecisse idem dices? Quamvis res mihi non placeat, tamen contra hominum auctoritatem pugnare non potero. An, cum eos non poteris, proferes hos recentes, Q. Catulum patrem, C. Marium, Q. Scaevolam, M. Scaurum, Q. Metellum? qui omnes provincias habuerunt et frumentum cellae nomine imperaverunt. Magna est hominum auctoritas, et
210 tanta ut etiam delicti suspicionem tegere possit. Non habes ne ex his quidem hominibus qui nuper fuerunt ullum auctorem istius aestimationis. Quo me igitur aut ad quae me exempla revocas? Ab illis hominibus,

should for the future be treated as you see that in recent years they have been treated? Then why am I wasting my labour here, why do you still sit on, why do you not rise and go while I am still addressing you? Would you, on the other hand, do something to reduce the unscrupulous and unprincipled villainy of such men as that? Then waver no longer between the advantage of sparing one rascal for the sake of a number of rascals, and that of punishing one rascal and thereby checking the rascality of many others.

XC. Yet what, after all, are these numerous prece- 209
dents? In so important a trial on so serious a charge, when the advocate for the defence begins to plead that something has "often been done," his hearers expect to be told of precedents drawn from the annals of the past, recorded by the sculptor's chisel and the historian's pen, clothed with all the dignity of bygone days; for these, it is found, most delight our ears and most convince our judgements. I ask my learned friend—will he tell us of a Scipio, a Cato, a Laelius, and assert that they have done the same? However little I may approve such actions, I cannot hold out against the authority of such men. Or failing these, will he bring forward the men of our own day—the elder Catulus, Marius, Scaevola, Scaurus, Metellus? all of them men who governed provinces and requisitioned corn for their maintenance. The authority of such men is great indeed—great enough to cover
even the suspicion of misconduct. But not even 210
from such men as these of our own day can he produce any authority for commuting corn as Verres did. Whither, then, to what precedents, will he refer me? Will he pass over the careers of men who lived when

qui tum versati sunt in re publica cum et optimi mores erant et hominum existimatio gravis habebatur et iudicia severa fiebant, ad hanc hominum libidinem ac licentiam me abducis, et, in quos aliquid exempli populus Romanus statui putat oportere, ab iis tu defensionis exempla quaeris? Non fugio ne hos quidem mores, dum modo ex his ea quae probat populus Romanus exempla, non ea quae condemnat sequamur. Non circumspiciam, non quaeram foris; habeo iudices tecum principes civitatis, P. Servilium et Q. Catulum, qui tanta auctoritate sunt, tantis rebus gestis, ut in illo antiquissimorum clarissimorumque hominum de quibus antea dixi numero reponantur. Exempla quaerimus, et ea non antiqua. Modo uter-
211 que eorum exercitum habuit. Quaere, Hortensi, quoniam te recentia exempla delectant, quid fecerint. Itane vero? Q. Catulus frumento est usus, pecuniam non coegit; P. Servilius quinquennium exercitui cum praeesset et ista ratione innumerabilem pecuniam facere cum posset, non statuit sibi quicquam licere quod non patrem suum, non avum Q. Metellum, clarissimum hominem, facere vidisset: C. Verres reperietur qui, quicquid expediat, id licere dicat? quod nemo nisi improbus fecerit, id aliorum exemplo se fecisse defendat?

XCI. At in Sicilia factitatum est. Quae est ista condicio Siciliae? cur quae optimo iure propter vetu-

[a] Catulus as consul in 78, against his colleague Lepidus: Servilius as consul and proconsul in Asia Minor 79-75.

moral standards were high, when public opinion was respected, when our law-courts were honestly administered, and refer me to the dissolute and unbridled profligacy of the present day, and seek to defend his client by quoting the examples set by men whom the people of this land regard as deserving exemplary punishment? Not that I refuse to consider even the standards that now prevail among us, provided that we take as our guides precedents that the national conscience approves, and not such as it condemns. For such, I need not look long or far afield. I have before me, as he has, two members of this Court, Publius Servilius and Quintus Catulus, two of the leading men in Rome, who are so highly respected, and distinguished by service so eminent, that they rank with those famous men of the distant past of whom I have already spoken. We are looking for precedents—for modern precedents: so be it. Not long ago, both these men were commanding armies.[a] Let my learned friend mark—since modern 211
precedents are to his taste—let him mark what these men did. Incredible! Catulus made use of his corn and required no money. Servilius, who held his command for five years, and had he been a Verres could have amassed a vast sum of money, felt himself debarred from doing anything that he had not seen done by his father or by his famous uncle Metellus. And shall it be left to Gaius Verres to argue that what is profitable is proper, and to justify by the example of others his doing what none but scoundrels have ever done?

XCI. You will tell me that it has often been done in Sicily. And how does "in Sicily" help your argument? The antiquity, the loyalty, the proximity of

statem, fidelitatem, propinquitatem esse debet, huic
212 praecipua lex iniuriae definitur? Sed in ipsa ista Sicilia non quaeram exemplum foris; hoc ipso ex consilio utar exemplis. C. Marcelle, te appello. Siciliae provinciae, cum esses pro consule, praefuisti: num quae in tuo imperio pecuniae cellae nomine coactae sunt? Neque ego hoc in tua laude pono; alia sunt tua facta atque consilia summa laude digna, quibus illam tu provinciam afflictam et perditam erexisti atque recreasti; nam hoc de cella ne Lepidus quidem fecerat, cui tu successisti. Quae sunt tibi igitur exempla in Sicilia cellae, si hoc crimen non modo Marcelli facto, sed ne Lepidi quidem potes
213 defendere? An me ad M. Antonii aestimationem frumenti exactionemque pecuniae revocaturus es? "Ita," inquit, "ad Antonii;" hoc enim mihi significasse et adnuisse visus est. Ex omnibus igitur populi Romani praetoribus, consulibus, imperatoribus, M. Antonium delegisti, et eius unum improbissimum factum, quod imitarere! Et hic utrum mihi difficile est dicere an his existimare ita se in isto infinito imperio M. Antonium gessisse ut multo isti perniciosius sit dicere se in re improbissima voluisse M. Antonium imitari quam si posset defendere nihil in vita se M. Antonii simile fecisse? Homines in iudiciis ad

[a] For the misgovernment of Sicily by Lepidus in 80 (or 81?) B.C., and the good work of his successor Marcellus, see II. ii. 3 § 8 (Vol. I. p. 300).

[b] For Antonius see *Divinatio* 17 § 55 (Vol. I. p. 50).

Sicily entitle her to special favour: on what grounds do you prescribe for her conditions of special in-
justice? But take Sicily if you will. Even here I 212
shall not look far afield for a precedent: I can find precedents in this assembly here present. Gaius Marcellus, I appeal to you. As proconsul you governed the province of Sicily: during your term of office, were any sums of money exacted in lieu of maintenance corn? I would not praise you on that account. Praise, and the highest praise, is due to the quite different measures that you devised and executed, thereby restoring vigour and health to that crushed and broken province. But even your predecessor Lepidus had never behaved thus about the maintenance corn.[a] What precedents, then, for such behaviour in Sicily can my learned friend put forward, if the conduct not only of Marcellus but even of Lepidus provides him with no answer to the charge
I bring? Can he mean to refer me to the way in 213
which the corn was valued, and money exacted instead, by Marcus Antonius? "Yes," he replies, "Marcus Antonius"—I take his nod of assent to mean this. So then, Verres, out of all the praetors, consuls and commanders of Rome it is Marcus Antonius you have chosen as your model—and the worst thing that even Marcus Antonius ever did! And now need I hesitate to assert, or my hearers to agree with me, that during his period of command with unlimited powers Marcus Antonius so conducted himself that it must do Verres far more harm to state that he deliberately copied the worst of Antonius's misdeeds than if he could plead that he had never in his life imitated Antonius[b] at all? Men on trial who have to rebut some charge against them are

crimen defendendum non quid fecerit quispiam proferre solent, sed quid probarit. Antonium, cum multa contra sociorum salutem, multa contra utilitatem provinciarum et faceret et cogitaret, in mediis iniuriis eius et cupiditatibus mors oppressit. Tu mihi, quasi eius omnia facta atque consilia senatus, populus, iudices comprobarint, ita M. Antonii exemplo istius audaciam defendis?

214 XCII. At idem fecit Sacerdos. Hominem innocentem et summa prudentia praeditum nominas; sed tum idem fecisse erit existimandus si eodem consilio fecerit. Nam genus aestimationis ipsum a me numquam est reprehensum, sed eius aequitas aratorum commodo et voluntate perpenditur. Non potest reprehendi ulla aestimatio quae aratori non modo incommoda non est sed etiam grata est. Sacerdos, ut in provinciam venit, frumentum in cellam imperavit. Cum esset ante novum tritici modius denariis v, petiverunt ab eo civitates ut aestimaret. Remissior aliquanto eius fuit aestimatio quam annona; nam aestimavit denariis III. Vides eandem aestimationem propter temporis dissimilitudinem in illo laudis causam habere, in te criminis, in illo beneficii,

215 in te iniuriae. Eodem tempore Antonius III denariis aestimavit post messem, summa in vilitate, cum

[a] 78 B.C., the year of Sacerdos's governorship and Antonius's special commission.

in the habit of putting forward not merely the actions of so-and-so, but such of his actions as have secured approval. Now Antonius, while doing much, and planning to do more, to ruin our allies and damage our provinces, in the midst of his career of greed and injustice died suddenly. Will Hortensius argue as though our Senate, our people, our courts of law had approved all the actions and policy of Antonius, and for that reason quote his example to justify the unscrupulous conduct of Verres?

XCII. But Sacerdos, we shall be told, has "done the same." Sacerdos is an upright man, and a man of the utmost discretion. But has he "done the same"? It will only be proper to think so if we find that he has done it for the same reason. With the principle of commutation in itself I have never found fault. Its fairness depends upon the interests and the wishes of the farmers. No fault can be found with any commutation that is not only not injurious to the farmer but actually welcome to him. Now Sacerdos, upon reaching his province, did requisition corn for his maintenance. The price of wheat, before the harvest was reaped, being 5 denarii a peck, the communities asked him to commute the corn for money. The price at which he did so was considerably lower than the price current in the market: he asked only 3 denarii a peck. You see, Verres, that owing to the difference of the seasons the same commutation rate justifies us in praising him and in prosecuting you: it indicates beneficence on his part and oppression on yours. In the same period[a] the praetor Antonius commuted at the rate of 3 denarii, after the harvest, when corn was at its cheapest, and 214 215

aratores frumentum dare gratis mallent, et aiebat se tantidem aestimasse quanti Sacerdotem; neque mentiebatur; sed eadem aestimatione alter sublevarat aratores, alter everterat. Quod nisi omnis frumenti ratio ex temporibus esset et annona, non ex numero neque ex summa consideranda, numquam tam grati hi sesquimodii, Q. Hortensi, fuissent, quos tu cum ad mensurae tam exiguam rationem populo Romano in capita descripsisses, gratissimum omnibus fecisti; caritas enim annonae faciebat ut istuc, quod re parvum videtur, tempore magnum videretur. Idem istuc si in vilitate populo Romano largiri voluisses, derisum tuum beneficium esset atque contemptum.

216 XCIII. Noli igitur dicere istum idem fecisse quod Sacerdotem, quoniam non eodem tempore neque simili fecit annona; dicito potius, quoniam habes auctorem idoneum, quod Antonius uno adventu et vix menstruis cibariis fecerit, id istum per triennium fecisse, et istius innocentiam M. Antonii facto atque auctoritate defendito. Nam de Sex. quidem Peducaeo, fortissimo atque innocentissimo viro, quid dicetis? de quo quis umquam arator questus est? aut quis non ad hoc tempus innocentissimam omnium diligentissimamque praeturam illius hominis existimat? Biennium provinciam obtinuit. Cum alter

[a] 76–75 B.C.

when farmers would rather have supplied the corn for nothing. Antonius used to say that he had fixed the same rate as Sacerdos; nor was this false; but by fixing this same rate, which was yours also, Sacerdos helped the farmers and Antonius crushed them. And I may observe that, unless the whole question of corn-values had to be regarded in relation to the seasons and the current market-prices, and not simply as a matter of numbers and quantities, those 3 half-pecks a head of yours, Hortensius, would never have been so welcome, which you measured out in such sparing proportions and distributed to the people of Rome to the great satisfaction of everyone; for the high market-price made your gift, which seems a small thing in itself, seem large because of the circumstances. Had you chosen to bestow the same quantity on the people of Rome when corn was cheap, your benefaction would have excited laughter and contempt.

XCIII. Do you say, then, that Verres has done the same as Sacerdos did, seeing that he did not do it at the same season of the year nor when the current price was the same? Rather you must say—since you now have a suitable precedent to quote—that what Antonius did in respect of a single visit and rations for barely a month, this Verres did for a period of three years: the conduct of Antonius is the precedent by means of which you must justify the conduct of your client. You certainly cannot appeal to that of the excellent and upright Sextus Peducaeus, against whom no farmer ever brought any complaint, and who is universally regarded as the most upright and conscientious governor yet known. He governed the province for two years,[a] 216

annus in vilitate, alter in summa caritate fuerit, num aut in vilitate nummum arator quisquam dedit aut in caritate de aestimatione frumenti questus est? At uberiora cibaria facta sunt caritate. Credo; neque
217 id est novum neque reprehendendum. Modo C. Sentium vidimus, hominem vetere illa ac singulari innocentia praeditum, propter caritatem frumenti quae fuerat in Macedonia permagnam ex cibariis pecuniam deportare. Quam ob rem non ego invideo commodis tuis, si quae ad te lege venerunt: iniuriam queror, improbitatem coarguo, avaritiam in crimen et in iudicium voco.

Quodsi suspiciones inicere velitis ad plures homines et ad plures provincias crimen hoc pertinere, non ego istam defensionem vestram pertimescam, sed me omnium provinciarum defensorem esse profitebor. Etenim hoc dico, et magna voce dico: Ubicumque hoc factum est, improbe factum est; quicumque hoc
218 fecit, supplicio dignus est. XCIV. Nam, per deos immortales, videte, iudices, et prospicite animis quid futurum sit. Multi magnas pecunias ab invitis civitatibus atque ab invitis aratoribus ista ratione cellae nomine coegerunt (omnino ego neminem video praeter istum, sed do hoc vobis et concedo, esse multos): in hoc homine rem adductam in iudicium videtis. Quid

[a] By selling the surplus at the high rate then current.

in one of which corn was cheap, in the other very dear: and no farmer ever paid him one penny when it was cheap, nor complained of the rate of his commutation when it was dear. You may reply that when it was dear, he did very well out of his rations.[a] Very likely; but there is nothing new or objectionable in that. Gaius Sentius is a man notable for 217
integrity of the old traditional type: and only the other day we heard of his returning from Macedonia with a quite large sum of money which the high prices there had enabled him to make out of his rations. And therefore, Verres, I do not grudge you any profits that have accrued to you legally. But I complain of your acts of injustice; I attack your immoral conduct; I denounce you, and prosecute you, for your rapacity.

And if you and your friends would incite us to believe that the present charge is applicable to many of our provinces and many of the men who govern them, I will not shrink from facing your line of defence; I will, on the contrary, proclaim myself the defender of all the provinces. This I say, and say loudly: Wheresoever this thing has been done, it has been ill done; and whosoever has done it merits punishment.—XCIV. In God's name, gentlemen, 218
look to the future and foresee what must come to pass. There are many men who, like Verres, have amassed large sums, wrung from reluctant communities and reluctant farmers, nominally as maintenance allowances. (I am not in fact aware of any such person at all, other than Verres: but I will concede the point to my opponents—let us suppose there are many such.) In the person of Verres, this conduct is now brought up for judgement before you. What

annus in vilitate, alter in summa caritate fuerit, num aut in vilitate nummum arator quisquam dedit aut in caritate de aestimatione frumenti questus est? At uberiora cibaria facta sunt caritate. Credo; neque
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facere potestis? utrum, cum iudices sitis de pecunia capta conciliata, tantam pecuniam captam neglegere, an, cum lex sociorum causa rogata sit, sociorum
219 querimonias non audire? Verum hoc quoque vobis remitto; neglegite praeterita, si vultis; sed ne reliquas spes turbetis atque omnes provincias evertatis, id providete, ne avaritiae, quae antehac occultis itineribus atque angustis uti solebat, auctoritate vestra viam patefaciatis illustrem atque latam. Nam si hoc probatis, et si licere pecunias isto nomine capi iudicatis, certe hoc, quod adhuc nemo nisi improbissimus fecit, posthac nemo nisi stultissimus non faciet. Improbi sunt qui pecunias contra leges cogunt, stulti qui quod licere iudicatum est praetermittunt.
220 Deinde, iudices, videte quam infinitam sitis hominibus licentiam pecuniarum eripiendarum daturi. Si denarios ternos qui coegerit erit absolutus, quaternos, quinos, denos denique aut vicenos coget alius. Quae erit reprehensio? in quo primum iniuriae gradu resistere incipiet severitas iudicis? quotus erit iste denarius qui non sit ferendus, et in quo primum aestimationis iniquitas atque improbitas reprehendatur? Non enim a vobis summa sed genus aestimationis erit comprobatum, neque hoc potestis iudicare, ternis denariis aestimare licere, denis non licere. Ubi enim semel ab annonae ratione et ab aratorum voluntate res ad praetoris libidinem translata est, non est iam

then can you do? You are the members of a court to try cases of extortion: can you ignore extortion on such a scale as this? The extortion law was passed to help our allies: can you shut your ears to our allies' remonstrances? But even such arguments 219
I will not press against my opponents. Ignore the past, gentlemen, if you will: but see to it that you do not extinguish hope for the future, and bring ruin to all our provinces. Until now, rapacity has been wont to make use of narrow and hidden paths: see that your authority does not enable it to travel henceforth by the broad and open highway. For if you mean to approve this action, to pronounce lawful the extortion of money under this pretext, then certainly this thing, which till now only a thorough scoundrel has done, henceforward only a thorough fool will fail to do: they are scoundrels who extort money illegally, but they are fools who refuse to do what has been declared legal. And note also, 220
gentlemen, how limitless are the opportunities for such robberies that you will be providing. Acquit the man who has extorted three denarii a peck, and another will extort four—five—nay, ten or even twenty. What ground will there be for prosecuting? at what degree of injustice will the judge's conscience begin to rebel? what is the minimum number of denarii per peck to be held impermissible, on reaching which the rate of commutation is to be attacked as unjust and criminal? For it is not the rate but the principle of such commutation that you will have endorsed; you will not be able to pronounce it lawful to exact three denarii but not to exact ten. As soon as the market-price and the farmers' wishes are disregarded, and it comes to be a matter of what the

in lege neque in officio, sed in voluntate hominum atque avaritia positus modus aestimandi. XCV. Quapropter, si vos semel in iudicando finem aequitatis et legis transieritis, scitote vos nullum ceteris in aestimando finem improbitatis et avaritiae reliquisse.

221 Videte igitur quam multa simul a vobis postulentur. Absolvite eum qui se fateatur maximas pecunias cum summa sociorum iniuria cepisse. Non est satis; sunt alii quoque complures qui idem fecerint. Absolvite etiam illos, si qui sunt, ut uno iudicio quam plurimos improbos liberetis. Ne id quidem satis est; facite ut ceteris posthac idem liceat. Licebit; adhuc parum est. Permittite ut liceat quanti quisque velit tanti aestimare. Permissum est; stultissimus quisque posthac minimo aestimabit. Videtis iam profecto, iudices, hac aestimatione a vobis comprobata neque modum posthac avaritiae cuiusquam neque
222 poenam improbitatis futuram. Quam ob rem quid agis, Hortensi? Consul es designatus, provinciam sortiturus es; de aestimatione frumenti cum dices, sic te audiemus quasi id quod ab isto recte factum esse defendes te facturum profiteare, et quasi quod isti licitum esse dices vehementer cupias tibi licere? Atqui, si id licebit, nihil est quod putetis quemquam

governor likes, the possible limit to the rate of commutation is fixed neither by law nor by moral principle, but by the rapacious inclinations of the individual man. XCV. And therefore you must understand that, once you, in pronouncing your verdict on Verres, have overstepped the barrier of justice and legality, you have left no barrier to restrain any other man, in fixing his rate of commutation, from the most criminal rapacity.

Observe, then, how many things are contained in 221
this demand now made of you. You are to acquit a man who confesses that he has, with the grossest injustice, extorted from our allies huge sums of money. That is not enough. There are several others who have done the same; acquit any such persons likewise, so that a single verdict may absolve as many rascals as possible. Even that is not enough: you are to ensure that everyone else in future will be able to do the same thing. Ensure it you will; but this is still not all. Allow everyone permission to fix as high a rate of commutation as he likes. Behold, it is done; henceforth only exceptional fools will fix the lowest rate. Assuredly, gentlemen, you now see that, if you endorse this action of Verres, greed will be everywhere unchecked henceforth, and wickedness
everywhere unpunished.—Take care, then, Horten- 222
sius. You are consul elect; you will soon be drawing lots for your province. When you address this Court about this commutation of corn, shall we understand you to be announcing your intention of doing what you maintain Verres was entitled to do? to be intensely eager to find lawful for yourself what you tell us was lawful for him?—Now, gentlemen, if *that* is to be lawful, you have no reason to think that anyone will

posthac commissurum ut de pecuniis repetundis con-
demnari possit. Quantam enim quisque concupierit
pecuniam, tantam licebit per cellae nomen aesti-
mationis magnitudine consequatur.
223 XCVI. At enim est quiddam quod, etiamsi palam
in defendendo non dicat Hortensius, tamen ita dicet
ut vos id suspicari et cogitare possitis, pertinere hoc
ad commodum senatorium, pertinere ad utilitatem
eorum qui iudicent, qui in provinciis cum potestate
aut cum legatione se futuros aliquando arbitrentur.
Praeclaros vero existimas iudices nos habere, quos
alienis peccatis concessuros putes quo facilius ipsis
peccare liceat. Ergo id volumus populum Romanum,
id provincias, id socios nationesque exteras existimare,
si senatores iudicent, hoc certe unum genus infinitae
pecuniae per summam iniuriam cogendae nullo modo
posse reprehendi? Quod si ita est, quid possumus
contra illum praetorem dicere qui cotidie templum
tenet, qui rem publicam sistere negat posse nisi ad
224 equestrem ordinem iudicia referantur? Quodsi ille
hoc unum agitare coeperit, esse aliquod genus co-
gendae pecuniae senatorium commune et iam prope
concessum ordini, quo genere ab sociis maxima
pecunia per summam iniuriam auferatur, neque id
ullo modo senatoriis iudiciis reprehendi posse, idque,
dum equester ordo iudicarit, numquam esse com-

[a] *Templum*, doubtless the Rostra in the Forum, a regular place for speeches to the people, which was also a *templum* or place set apart for observation of auguries or taking auspices. There seems to be a suggestion that Cotta was not only trying to make people support the new measure, but keeping his eyes open to see how opinion was moving.

hereafter deliberately run the risk of being found
guilty of extortion. Whatever sum of money a given
man has set his heart upon getting, he will be able to
secure it lawfully, under the title of "maintenance,"
by fixing a high enough rate of commutation.
XCVI. There is indeed one consideration which 223
Hortensius will not openly include in his arguments
for the defence, but which he will, in what he does say,
imply and suggest to you plainly enough: to wit, that
this matter affects the interests of senators, that it
affects the future advantage of those members of this
Court who expect some day to find themselves in the
provinces as magistrates or assistant magistrates.
My learned friend has a high opinion indeed of the
members of this Court, if he thinks them likely to
make allowances for the wrong deeds of others in
order to get readier permission to do wrong them-
selves. Is this, then, what we would have believed by
the people of Rome, by our provinces, by our allies
and by foreign nations—that here, at least, is one way
of extorting with gross injustice an unlimited sum of
money without any possible risk of prosecution? If
that is true, what reply can we make to the charges
of the praetor who occupies his place of vantage[a] day
after day, maintaining that political stability is un-
attainable unless the courts are handed back to the
equestrian order? Why, if he proceeds to urge this 224
one argument, that there is a senatorial method of
extorting money that is common to the whole order
and by now all but its admitted right; that by this
method our allies are with gross injustice being
robbed of vast sums; that the offenders run no risk of
prosecution in courts composed of senators, and that
when the courts were manned by the equestrian

missum, quis obsistet ? quis erit tam cupidus vestri, tam fautor ordinis, qui de transferendis iudiciis possit recusare ?

XCVII. Atque utinam posset aliqua ratione hoc crimen quamvis falsa, modo humana atque usitata defendere ; minore periculo vestro, minore periculo provinciarum omnium iudicaretis. Negaret hac aestimatione se usum, vos id credidissetis ; homini credidisse, non factum comprobasse videremini. Nullo modo negare potest ; urgetur a tota Sicilia ; nemo est ex tanto numero aratorum a quo pecunia cellae
225 nomine non sit exacta. Vellem etiam hoc posset dicere, nihil ad se istam rationem pertinere, per quaestores rem frumentariam esse administratam. Ne id quidem ei licet dicere, propterea quod ipsius litterae recitantur ad civitates de ternis denariis missae. Quae est igitur defensio ? " Feci quod arguis ; cepi pecunias maximas cellae nomine ; sed hoc mihi licuit, vobis si prospicitis licebit." Periculosum provinciis genus iniuriae confirmari iudicio ; perniciosum vestro ordini populum Romanum existimare non posse eos homines qui ipsi legibus teneantur leges in iudicando religiose defendere.

Atque isto praetore, iudices, non solum aestimandi

order such offences were never committed : who will oppose him ? who will be so much devoted to you, so strong a supporter of your order. as to be able to object to the transference of the courts ?

XCVII. I wish, indeed, that Verres could seek to meet this charge with some plea that however unfounded was at least civilized and customary. You would be sitting to try this case with less danger both to yourselves and to all our provinces. If he had been denying that he exacted that money as he did, and if you had believed him, people would feel that you had believed the man, not approved the action. But he cannot possibly deny it ; all Sicily is pressing the charge ; there is not one of all its many farmers from whom " maintenance " money has not been wrung. And I wish he could say even this, that the 225
whole business was no concern of his, since his quaestors had managed everything to do with corn. But even this he is debarred from saying, because we have been hearing read aloud his own letter written to the communities demanding the 3 denarii a peck. What then *is* his plea ? " I have done what you attack me for doing ; I have amassed great sums as maintenance money : but it was permissible for me to do so, and—if you will look ahead—it will be permissible for you." Gentlemen, it is a dangerous thing for our provinces that your verdict should establish the principle of this injustice ; and it will be fatal for our order if the nation should believe that men who may themselves incur the penalties of the law are incapable of conscientiously upholding the law when they sit as judges in our courts.

And further, gentlemen, when Verres was governor, not only was there no limit to the rate of commuta-

frumenti modus non fuit, sed ne imperandi quidem; neque enim id quod debebatur, sed quantum commodum fuit imperavit. Summam faciam vobis ex publicis litteris ac testimoniis civitatum frumenti in cellam imperati; reperietis quinquiens tanto, iudices, amplius istum quam quantum in cellam sumere ei licitum sit civitatibus imperasse. Quid ad hanc impudentiam addi potest, si et aestimavit tanti ut homines ferre non possent, et tanto plus quam erat ei concessum legibus imperavit?

226 Quapropter cognita tota re frumentaria, iudices, iam facillime perspicere poteritis amissam esse populo Romano Siciliam, fructuosissimam atque opportunissimam provinciam, nisi eam vos istius damnatione recuperatis. Quid est enim Sicilia si agri cultionem sustuleris, et si aratorum numerum ac nomen exstinxeris? Quid autem potest esse in calamitate residui quod non ad miseros aratores isto praetore per summam iniuriam ignominiamque pervenerit? quibus, cum decumas dare deberent, vix ipsis decumae relictae sunt; cum pecunia deberetur, soluta non est; cum optima aestimatione senatus frumentum eos in cellam dare voluisset, etiam instrumenta agrorum vendere coacti sunt.

227 XCVIII. Dixi iam ante, iudices, ut has omnes

tion, but there was none to the amount of corn demanded: it was not the amount due to him that he demanded, but the amount that suited his inclinations. I will put before you, on the authority of the official records and official evidence of the communities, the total amount of the corn demanded for maintenance; and you will find it five times as much as he was legally entitled to demand from the communities for that purpose. The man both fixed an intolerably high rate for commutation, and at the same time demanded an amount of corn immensely in excess of what the law allowed him. Can shameless impudence go further?

And now that the full story of the farmers and their corn has been put before you, gentlemen, you may very easily perceive that the fertile and valuable province of Sicily is lost to the Roman nation, unless you are ready to recover it by finding Verres guilty. For what is Sicily, if you take away its agriculture, if you blot out the farming population and the farming profession? And what further disaster can there be in store that has not already descended on those unhappy farmers under the governorship of Verres, accompanied by the extremest forms of injustice and insolence? They were bound to pay tithes, and hardly a tithe has been left them for their own use. The money due to them has not been paid. The Senate intended them to receive a liberal rate of payment for corn supplied for the governor's maintenance, and they have been forced to sell even their tools and stock. 226

XCVIII. I have remarked already, gentlemen, that apart from all such inflictions as these, the 227

iniurias tollatis, tamen ipsam rationem arandi spe magis et iucunditate quadam quam fructu atque emolumento teneri. Etenim ad incertum casum et eventum certus quotannis labor et certus sumptus impenditur. Annona porro pretium nisi in calamitate fructuum non habet; si autem ubertas in percipiendis fructibus fuit, consequitur vilitas in vendendis, ut aut male vendendum intellegas, si bene processit, aut male perceptos fructus, si recte licet vendere. Totae autem res rusticae eius modi sunt ut eas non ratio neque labor, sed res incertissimae, venti tempestatesque, moderentur. Hinc cum unae decumae lege et consuetudine detrahantur, alterae novis institutis propter annonae rationem imperentur, ematur praeterea frumentum quotannis publice, postremo etiam in cellam magistratibus et legatis imperetur, quid aut quantum praeterea est quod aut liberum possit habere ille arator ac dominus in potestate suorum fructuum aut in ipsis fructibus solutum?

228 Quodsi haec ferunt omnia, si potius vobis ac rei publicae quam sibi et suis commodis opera, sumptu, labore deserviunt, etiamne haec nova debent edicta et imperia praetorum et Apronii dominationem et Veneriorum servorum furta rapinasque ferre? etiamne frumentum pro empto gratis dare? etiamne in cellam cum cupiant gratis dare ultro pecuniam grandem addere? etiamne haec tot detrimenta atque damna cum maximis iniuriis contumeliisque perferre?

[a] The text (*quid aut quantum . . . solutum?*) is obscure as it stands and possibly corrupt. The above rendering seems to come near the general sense.

reasons for being a farmer at all are the possibility of success and the pleasantness of the life rather than the profits actually earned. Year by year so much labour and so much money is definitely expended for an indefinite and variable result. Further, the market-price is never high unless the harvest is a failure; when an abundant crop has been gathered in, a low selling price is the consequence; so you find that in a good year you have to sell cheap, and if you can sell for a good price you have had a bad harvest. And farming is throughout a thing whose profits depend not on intelligence and industry but on those most uncertain things, wind and weather. Since from those profits one tithe is deducted by law and ancient custom, and by recent legislation another tithe is exacted because of the scarcity of corn, and every year a further amount of corn must be sold to the government, and lastly, still more is demanded for the maintenance of our magistrates and their assistants, how much power is left to the farmer and owner to dispose freely of his own crop, and how much of the crop itself is left free for him to dispose of?[a]

And if they endure all these exactions—if 228
their toil and expense and labour serve you and your country better than them and their own advantage—must they also endure these unheard-of edicts and demands issued by our governors, the tyranny of men like Apronius, the thefts and robberies of temple slaves? instead of selling their corn, must they supply it for nothing? even when they are eager to supply maintenance corn for nothing, must they pay a vast sum of money as well? and must they even submit to having all these forms of damage and loss accompanied by the most unjust and insulting treatment?

Itaque haec, iudices, quae pati nullo modo potuerunt, non pertulerunt. Arationes omnes tota Sicilia desertas atque a dominis relictas esse cognoscitis; neque quicquam aliud agitur hoc iudicio nisi ut antiquissimi socii et fidelissimi, Siculi, coloni populi Romani atque aratores, vestra severitate et diligentia, me duce atque auctore, in agros atque in sedes suas revertantur.

Note on the Text of § 3

susceperat. Minus enim perspicitur. . . .

1. *etiam* after *minus* must be wrong. For the argument does not suggest that the *virtus et integritas* of maturer persons who *ad hanc rem descendunt* is not quite clearly and easily discerned by the public: rather, the last sentence of the section, *nos qui iam et quid facere . . libertatemque vivendi*, implies the exact opposite of this suggestion.

2. The general argument seems to be this. Crassus, beginning his career as prosecutor when quite young, was helped by his ability and wealth, but hampered by his youth. An upright life was expected of him, as of all prosecutors. His ability and wealth might have enabled him to some extent to disregard this fact: his youth made it less possible for him to do so. For the public, while requiring as high a standard from young prosecutors as from old ones, is less ready to believe that young ones do in fact behave as they should. And this is because old men of bad character are less likely then young men of bad character to set themselves up as prosecutors, since the old know better than the young the unpleasant restrictions that the career involves.

3. The proposed reading suits this meaning. The MS. *quo* may have been inserted after *enim* had become *etiam*.

Well, gentlemen, to this utterly unendurable state of affairs they have not submitted. You are informed that throughout Sicily all the farm land has been deserted and abandoned by its owners; and the supreme issue of this trial is simply this—Will you, conscientiously and earnestly following my lead and guidance, enable the Sicilians, our oldest and most loyal allies, the Roman nation's own cultivators and farmers, to come back once more to their fields and homes?

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE IN C. VERREM LIBER QUARTUS

1 I. Venio nunc ad istius, quem ad modum ipse appellat, studium, ut amici eius, morbum et insaniam, ut Siculi, latrocinium; ego quo nomine appellem nescio; rem vobis proponam, vos eam suo, non nominis, pondere penditote. Genus ipsum prius cognoscite, iudices; deinde fortasse non magno opere quaeretis quo id nomine appellandum putetis. Nego in Sicilia tota, tam locupleti, tam vetere provincia, tot oppidis, tot familiis tam copiosis, ullum argenteum vas, ullum Corinthium aut Deliacum fuisse, ullam gemmam aut margaritam, quicquam ex auro aut ebore factum, signum ullum aeneum, marmoreum, eburneum, nego ullam picturam neque in tabula neque in textili, quin conquisierit, inspexerit, quod
2 placitum sit abstulerit. Magnum videor dicere; attendite etiam quem ad modum dicam. Non enim verbi neque criminis augendi causa complector omnia; cum dico nihil istum eius modi rerum in tota provincia reliquisse, Latine me scitote, non accusatorie loqui. Etiam planius: nihil in aedibus cuiusquam, ne in hospitis quidem, nihil in locis communibus, ne in fanis

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES: BOOK IV

I. I come now to what he himself speaks of as his 1
favourite pursuit, his friends as a foolish weakness, Sicily as highway robbery. What name I should myself give it I know not: I will put the facts of it before you, and you shall judge of it by its nature and not by its name. Let me first describe it in general terms; having heard which, you will perhaps be at no great loss to assign the proper name to it. I assert that in all Sicily, the rich and ancient province of Sicily—in all its towns and in all its wealthy households—there was not one vessel of silver, not one of Corinthian or Delian bronze, no pearl or graven jewel, no object of gold or ivory, no bronze or marble or ivory statue, no painting or embroidery, that he did not seek out, examine and (if he liked it) appropriate. This may seem a bold statement; but let 2
me ask you to note what I mean by making it. Its unqualified terms are not an oratorical exaggeration, not an attempt to magnify the guilt of the accused: when I assert that he has left no object of this description anywhere in Sicily, you are to understand that I am not using the conventional language of a prosecutor, but speaking the literal truth. I will put it more exactly still. In no man's house, though the man were his host; in no public place, though the

quidem, nihil apud Siculum, nihil apud civem Romanum, denique nihil istum, quod ad oculos animumque acciderit, neque privati neque publici neque profani neque sacri tota in Sicilia reliquisse.

3 Unde igitur potius incipiam quam ab ea civitate quae tibi una in amore atque in deliciis fuit, aut ex quo potius numero quam ex ipsis laudatoribus tuis? Facilius enim perspicietur, qualis apud eos fueris qui te oderunt, qui accusant, qui persequuntur, cum apud tuos Mamertinos inveniare improbissima ratione esse praedatus.

II. C. Heius est Mamertinus (omnes hoc mihi qui Messanam accesserunt facile concedunt) omnibus rebus illa in civitate ornatissimus. Huius domus est vel optima Messanae, notissima quidem certe, et nostris hominibus apertissima maximeque hospitalis. Ea domus ante istius adventum ornata sic fuit ut urbi quoque esset ornamento; nam ipsa Messana, quae situ moenibus portuque ornata sit, ab his rebus quibus iste delectatur sane vacua atque nuda est.

4 Erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate in aedibus a maioribus traditum perantiquum, in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor summo artificio, summa nobilitate, quae non modo istum hominem ingeniosum et intellegentem, verum etiam quemvis nostrum, quos iste idiotas appellat, delectare possent. Unum Cupidinis marmoreum Praxiteli—nimirum didici etiam, dum in istum inquiro, artificum nomina. Idem,

[a] In any public speech it was "bad form" for a Roman gentleman to profess, or even to imply, any expert knowledge of art, or to assume such knowledge on the part of his hearers. This is brought out by a number of different touches in this IVth book.

place were a sanctuary; in the possession of no man, Sicilian or Roman citizen; nowhere, in short, throughout Sicily, has he left behind any object, whether private or public property, whether consecrated or not consecrated, that his eyes have beheld and his heart has coveted.—

Well, can I do better than begin with the city that was your favourite, Verres, the city you loved above all others, and by a selection from the very persons who are your eulogists? We shall find it all the easier to appreciate your behaviour towards those who are your enemies, your assailants and your prosecutors, when we have discovered the impudent way in which you have plundered the people of your own Messana.— 3

II. Gaius Heius of Messana, as all who have visited that city will readily allow, is in all respects its chief and its wealthiest citizen. His house is perhaps the finest in the place, and at any rate the best known, and its hospitable doors the most widely open to our own countrymen. It was, until Verres arrived, so full of beautiful things as to add much to the beauty of Messana, whose charm mainly consists in its situation and its walls and harbour, for it is empty and destitute of the objects that give pleasure to Verres.

There was in this house of Heius a stately chapel, 4
an ancient inheritance from his forefathers, in which stood four statues; admirable works of the greatest beauty and artistic merit, capable of giving pleasure not only to so highly gifted an expert as Verres, but also to any of us "outsiders," as he calls us. One was a marble Cupid by Praxiteles—I learnt the artists' names, you will understand, in the course of my investigations as prosecutor.[a] It is, I believe, the

opinor, artifex eiusdem modi Cupidinem fecit illum qui est Thespiis, propter quem Thespiae visuntur, nam alia visendi causa nulla est. Atque ille L. Mummius, cum Thespiadas, quae ad aedem Felicitatis sunt, ceteraque profana ex illo oppido signa tolleret, hunc marmoreum Cupidinem, quod erat consecratus, non attigit.

5 III. Verum ut ad illud sacrarium redeam, signum erat hoc quod dico Cupidinis e marmore; ex altera parte Hercules egregie factus ex aere. Is dicebatur esse Myronis, ut opinor, et certe. Item ante hos deos erant arulae, quae cuivis religionem sacrarii significare possent. Erant aenea duo praeterea signa, non maxima, verum eximia venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam more Atheniensium virginum reposita in capitibus sustinebant; Canephoroe ipsae vocabantur; sed earum artificem—quem? quemnam? recte admones, Polyclitum esse dicebant. Messanam ut quisque nostrum venerat, haec visere solebat; omnibus haec ad visendum patebant cotidie; domus erat non
6 domino magis ornamento quam civitati. C. Claudius, cuius aedilitatem magnificentissimam scimus fuisse, usus est hoc Cupidine tam diu dum forum dis immortalibus populoque Romano habuit ornatum, et, cum hospes esset Heiorum, Mamertini autem populi patronus, ut illis benignis usus est ad commodandum, sic ipse diligens fuit ad reportandum. Nuper homines nobiles eius modi, iudices—sed quid

same sculptor who made the similar Cupid at Thespiae which is what people go to Thespiae to see, there being no other reason to go there. I may add that the celebrated Lucius Mummius, though he took away from that town all the unconsecrated statues, including the "Ladies [a] of Thespiae" now standing beside the Temple of Good Fortune,[b] did not touch this marble Cupid, because it was consecrated.

III. But to return to the chapel of Heius, there was 5
this marble statue of Cupid that I speak of; and opposite to it stood an admirable bronze Hercules, said to be the work of Myron, I believe—yes, it was so. And in front of these divine figures were altars—unmistakable proof, surely, of the chapel's sanctity. There were two other bronze statues, not very large, but remarkably attractive, in the shape and attire of maidens, who like the Athenian maidens held with their raised hands certain sacred objects resting on their heads. The statues were called the Canephoroe [c]; but the sculptor—who was he? now who did they say he was? oh yes, thank you—Polyclitus. When visiting Messana, all our countrymen would go to see these statues; the house was open daily to visitors who wished to see them; its beauty was for the whole town to enjoy not less than for its owner.

Gaius Claudius,[d] the splendours of whose aedileship 6
are well known, borrowed this Cupid for the time during which he had the forum decorated to the glory of the gods and the Roman nation, being the guest-friend of the Heius family and the patron of the Messanians; but he was as careful to restore it afterwards as he had found them kindly willing to lend it. Such was the way of our distinguished men not long ago, gentlemen: "not long ago," do I say? no, a

[a] The Muses. Thespiae was near their Mount Helicon.
[b] In Rome, near the Palatine.
[c] κανηφόροι, "basket-bearers."
[d] Surnamed Pulcher: aedile in 99 B.C.

dico "nuper"? immo vero modo ac plane paulo ante vidimus, qui forum et basilicas non spoliis provinciarum sed ornamentis amicorum, commodis hospitum, non furtis nocentium, ornarent; qui tamen signa atque ornamenta sua cuique reddebant, non ablata ex urbibus sociorum atque amicorum, quadridui causa, per simulationem aedilitatis, domum
7 deinde atque ad suas villas auferebant. Haec omnia quae dixi signa, iudices, ab Heio e sacrario Verres abstulit; nullum, inquam, horum reliquit neque aliud ullum tamen praeter unum pervetus ligneum, Bonam Fortunam, ut opinor; eam iste habere domi suae noluit.

IV. Pro deum hominumque fidem, quid hoc est? quae haec causa est? quae ista impudentia? Quae dico signa, ante quam abs te sublata sunt, Messanam cum imperio nemo venit quin viserit. Tot praetores, tot consules in Sicilia cum in pace tum etiam in bello fuerunt, tot homines cuiusque modi—non loquor de integris, innocentibus, religiosis—tot cupidi, tot improbi, tot audaces, quorum nemo sibi tam vehemens, tam potens, tam nobilis visus est qui ex illo sacrario quicquam poscere aut tollere aut attingere auderet: Verres quod ubique erit pulcherrimum auferet? nihil habere cuiquam praeterea licebit? tot domus locuple-

very little while ago, very recently indeed, we have seen such men decorate the Forum and colonnades not with the plunder of our provinces but with the treasures of their friends, with what their hosts had lent them and not with what their guilty hands had stolen; and none the less did they return these statues and art treasures to their several owners. They did not carry them off from the cities of our friends and allies, pretending, as aediles, to be borrowing them for a four-day festival, and then transport them to their own town-mansions and
country-houses. But Verres, gentlemen, carried off 7
all the statues I have mentioned from the chapel of Heius; I assure you, he left not one of them behind, nor indeed anything else except one ancient figure of wood, which I believe represented Good Fortune—this he was not by way of having in his house.

IV. What, in the name of all that is just and holy, have we here? Was ever such an impudent rascal accused of such a thing before? Until the statues I speak of were carried off by you, no governor ever came to Messana without going to see them. Of all those governors of Sicily, praetorian and consular, in time of peace and in time of war; of all those governors, good and bad—nay, passing over the honest, the blameless, the conscientious, I will speak only of the greedy, the immoral and the unscrupulous; of all these men, not one conceived himself so determined, so powerful, or so illustrious, as to venture to demand, to remove, to lay one finger upon, any object in that chapel. And shall Verres carry off from place after place the most beautiful things that it holds? shall no one else be suffered to keep anything? shall all those wealthy houses go to fill his single house

tissimas istius domus una capiet? Idcirco nemo superiorum attigit, ut hic tolleret? ideo C. Claudius Pulcher rettulit, ut C. Verres posset auferre? At non requirebat ille Cupido lenonis domum ac meretriciam disciplinam; facile illo sacrario patrio continebatur; Heio se a maioribus relictum esse sciebat in hereditate sacrorum, non quaerebat meretricis heredem.

8 Sed quid ego tam vehementer invehor? verbo uno repellar. "Emi," inquit. Di immortales, praeclaram defensionem! Mercatorem in provinciam cum imperio ac securibus misimus, omnia qui signa, tabulas pictas, omne argentum, aurum, ebur, gemmas coemeret, nihil cuiquam relinqueret! Haec enim mihi ad omnia defensio patefieri videtur, emisse. Primum, si id quod vis tibi ego concedam, ut emeris, quoniam in toto hoc genere hac una defensione usurus es, quaero cuius modi tu iudicia Romae putaris esse, si tibi hoc quemquam concessurum putasti, te in praetura atque imperio tot res tam pretiosas, omnes denique res quae alicuius pretii fuerint, tota ex provincia coemisse.

9 V. Videte maiorum diligentiam, qui nihildum etiam istius modi suspicabantur, verum tamen ea quae parvis in rebus accidere poterant providebant. Neminem qui cum potestate aut legatione in provinciam

[a] Chelidon, who had died and left money to Verres (Book ii. § 116).

alone? Did his predecessors leave those things untouched in order that he might remove them bodily? did Gaius Claudius Pulcher give them back in order that Gaius Verres might take them away again? It was not that the Cupid felt any yearning for the house of this profligate or for the society of his mistresses. He was content to remain within the walls of the family chapel; he knew himself bequeathed to Heius as part of a sacred inheritance from his forefathers, and had no wish to belong to the heir of a courtesan.[a]

And yet, why this vehement attack upon Verres? 8
A single word will beat it off. "I *bought* the things," he tells us. God help us, what a superb defence! We have given the powers and the insignia of governor to a trader, and sent him to our province to buy up all the statues and pictures, all the gold and silver plate, all the gems and ivories, and leave nothing there for anyone! Yes, to every single charge of robbery he is evidently ready to reply that he "bought it."—Now in the first place, even should I gratify you by accepting the truth of your statement—this being the one and only answer you mean to give to all charges of this kind—I should like to know what conception you have formed of Roman courts of law, if you conceive that any of their members will accept your defence, when you tell them that, during your tenure of authority as governor, you bought up so many very valuable objects; nay, every object, throughout your province, that had any value at all.

V. Observe, gentlemen, the forethought of our 9
ancestors. With no fear, as yet, of misdeeds like these of Verres, they did wish to guard against the chance of misconduct in smaller matters. When a man went to his province with the authority of

esset profectus tam amentem fore putaverunt ut emeret argentum, dabatur enim de publico ; ut vestem, praebebatur enim legibus: mancipium putarunt, quo et omnes utimur et non praebetur a populo ; sanxerunt ne quis emeret nisi in demortui locum. Si qui Romae esset demortuus ? immo, si quis ibidem ; non enim te instruere domum tuam voluerunt in provincia, sed illum usum provinciae supplere.

10 Quae fuit causa, cur tam diligenter nos in provinciis ab emptionibus removerent ? Haec, iudices, quod putabant ereptionem esse, non emptionem, cum venditori suo arbitratu vendere non liceret. In provinciis intellegebant, si is qui esset cum imperio ac potestate quod apud quemque esset emere vellet idque ei liceret, fore uti quod quisque vellet, sive esset venale sive non esset, quanti vellet auferret.

Dicet aliquis : " Noli isto modo agere cum Verre, noli eius facta ad antiquae religionis rationem exquirere ; concede ut impune emerit, modo ut bona ratione emerit, nihil pro potestate, nihil ab invito, nihil per iniuriam." Sic agam : si quid venale habuit Heius, si id[1] quanti aestimabat tanti vendidit, desino quaerere cur emeris.

11 VI. Quid igitur nobis faciendum est ? num argumentis utendum in re eius modi ? Quaerendum,

[1] si, quod venale habuit Heius, id *Peterson, with better MS. authority; but Cicero presently argues that Heius had no reason to sell anything.*

governor or assistant-governor, they did not suppose he would be such a fool as to purchase silver plate there, for that was supplied at the public expense, or woven fabrics, for with these he was furnished by law. They did suppose he might buy slaves, which all of us use, and which the state does not provide ; and they forbade any such purchase, unless to supply the place of a slave who had died. Of one who had died in Rome ? no, only of one who had died there in the province. You were not to use the province to equip your house in Rome, but only to fill the gaps in your household service out there. And for what 10 reason were they so careful to prevent our making purchases in our provinces ? The reason was, gentlemen, that they believed it would mean not purchase but pillage, since the seller would not be allowed to sell on his own terms. They saw that if, in the provinces, the wielder of supreme military and civil power desired to buy what belonged to this man or that, and were legally permitted to do so, he would help himself, at his own price, to whatever he fancied, whether its owner wished to sell it or not.

" Yes," I shall be told, " but do not take this line in regard to Verres ; do not examine his conduct by the standard of a scrupulousness that is now obsolete. Let him escape punishment for these purchases, provided that they have been fair purchases, with no abuse of his authority, no forced sale, no injustice to the owner."—By all means : if there is anything that Heius offered for sale, and sold for the price at which he valued it, I will forbear to bid you justify your buying it.

VI. Well, how shall I proceed ? Are proofs, in 11 such a case, really needed ? We are to inquire, I take

credo, est Heius iste num aes alienum habuerit, num auctionem fecerit; si fecit, num tanta difficultas eum rei nummariae tenuerit, tanta egestas, tanta vis presserit ut sacrarium suum spoliaret, ut deos patrios venderet. At hominem video auctionem fecisse nullam, vendidisse praeter fructus suos nihil umquam, non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse et semper fuisse; si haec contra ac dico essent omnia, tamen illum haec, quae tot annos in familia sacrarioque maiorum fuissent, venditurum non fuisse. "Quid, si magnitudine pecuniae persuasum est?" Veri simile non est ut ille homo tam locuples, tam honestus, religioni suae monumentisque maiorum
12 pecuniam anteponeret. "Sunt ista; verum tamen abducuntur homines non numquam etiam ab institutis suis magnitudine pecuniae." Videamus quanta ista pecunia fuerit quae potuerit Heium, hominem maxime locupletem, minime avarum, ab humanitate, a pietate, ab religione deducere. Ita iussisti, opinor, ipsum in tabulas referre: "Haec omnia signa Praxiteli, Myronis, Polycliti HS sex milibus quingentis Verri vendita." Sic rettulit. Recita. Ex TABULIS. Iuvat me haec praeclara nomina artificum, quae isti ad caelum ferunt, Verris aestimatione sic concidisse. Cupidinem Praxiteli HS MDC! Profecto hinc natum est "Malo emere quam rogare."

13 VII. Dicet aliquis: "Quid? tu ista permagno

[a] The item in the accounts, as read aloud, clearly specified the price of each of the objects nominally purchased.

it, whether this man Heius was in debt; whether he had held a sale of his property; and whether, even if he had, he was in such financial straits, constrained by such pressure of poverty, as to strip his chapel and sell his family gods. Well, I find that he has held no sale of his property; that he has never sold anything except the produce of his land; that, far from being in debt, he has, and always has had, plenty of money to his credit; and that, even if the facts were the opposite of all this, he would yet not have sold these objects that had for so many years been in his household and his family chapel. "Oh? might not the high price have induced him to sell?" It is incredible that a man of such wealth and high standing should value money more than his sense of duty and his ancestral heirlooms. "That may be so; none 12
the less, offer people enough money, and they do sometimes abandon the ruling principles of their lives." Let us see, then, how large the sum was that could make a man who had so much money as Heius, and who cared for it so little, no longer behave like an honourable and conscientious gentleman.—You instructed him, it appears, personally to record in his accounts the sale to Verres of these statues, the work of Praxiteles, Myron, and Polyclitus, for a total sum of sixty-five pounds: and he did so.—Read us out the entry in the accounts. *The clerk reads it.*—It is amusing to hear that the high reputation of the artists whom those Greeks extol to the skies has crashed so completely in the judgement of Verres. A Cupid by Praxiteles for £16![a] This surely explains the saying "Better buy than beg."

VII. "Well," someone may say, "but do you your- 13
self set any very high value upon such things?" I

aestimas?" Ego vero ad meam rationem usumque meum non aestimo; verum tamen a vobis ita arbitror spectari oportere, quanti haec eorum iudicio qui studiosi sunt harum rerum aestimentur, quanti venire soleant, quanti haec ipsa si palam libereque venirent venire possent, denique ipse Verres quanti aestimet. Numquam, si denariis cccc Cupidinem illum putasset, commisisset ut propter eum in sermonem hominum
14 atque in tantam vituperationem veniret. Quis vestrum igitur nescit quanti haec aestimentur? In auctione signum aeneum non maximum HS $\overline{\text{XL}}$ venire non vidimus? Quid? si velim nominare homines qui aut non minoris aut etiam pluris emerint, nonne possum? Etenim qui modus est in his rebus cupiditatis, idem est aestimationis; difficile est finem facere pretio, nisi libidini feceris.

Video igitur Heium neque voluntate neque difficultate aliqua temporis nec magnitudine pecuniae adductum esse ut haec signa venderet, teque ista simulatione emptionis vi, metu, imperio, fascibus ab homine eo quem una cum ceteris sociis non solum potestati tuae sed etiam fidei populus Romanus commiserat eripuisse atque abstulisse.

15 Quid mihi tam optandum, iudices, potest esse in hoc crimine quam ut haec eadem dicat ipse Heius? Nihil profecto; sed ne difficilia optemus. Heius est Mamertinus; Mamertina civitas istum publice communi consilio sola laudat; omnibus iste ceteris Siculis odio est, ab his solis amatur eius autem legationis

reply that, from my own point of view, and for my own purposes, I do not. But what you, I think, have to consider is what such things are worth in the opinion of those who do care for them; what they are as a rule sold for; what these particular things could have been sold for, if they had been sold openly and freely; and finally, what Verres himself thought them worth. Would he have exposed himself to popular scandal and violent censure for the sake of that Cupid, if he had really valued it at no more than £16? Well, gentlemen, you are all aware what the 14
value placed upon such things really is. Have we not seen bronzes of quite moderate size fetch £400 at a sale? Could I not name persons who have paid as much as that for them, or even more? The fact is that the value of these things corresponds to the demand for them; you can hardly limit the price of them, unless you can limit the desires of men.—

It is, then, clear to me that neither inclination, nor a temporary financial difficulty, nor the large price offered, induced Heius to sell these statues; and that you, Verres, under pretence of buying them, used your official authority to compel and intimidate him, and simply robbed and plundered a man whom, like the rest of our allies there, the nation placed not only under your orders but under your protection.

Now in bringing this charge, gentlemen, there is 15
certainly nothing I should so much hope for as to have my statements corroborated by Heius himself. But is not this too much to hope for? Heius is a citizen of Messana; the Messanian community, and it alone, has decreed Verres an official eulogy; while all the rest of the Sicilians loathe him, they are fond of him; and at the head of the deputation sent to

quae ad istum laudandum missa est princeps est Heius—etenim est primus civitatis: ne forte, dum publicis
16 mandatis serviat, de privatis iniuriis reticeat. Haec cum scirem et cogitarem, commisi tamen, iudices, Heio; produxi prima actione; neque id tamen ullo periculo feci. Quid enim poterat Heius respondere, si esset improbus, si sui dissimilis? esse illa signa domi suae, non esse apud Verrem? Qui poterat quicquam eius modi dicere? Ut homo turpissimus esset impudentissimeque mentiretur, hoc diceret, illa se habuisse venalia, eaque sese quanti voluerit vendidisse. Homo domi suae nobilissimus, qui vos de religione sua ac dignitate vere existimare maxime vellet, primo dixit se istum publice laudare, quod sibi ita mandatum esset; deinde neque se habuisse illa venalia neque ulla condicione, si utrum vellet liceret, adduci umquam potuisse ut venderet illa quae in sacrario fuissent a maioribus suis relicta et tradita.

17 VIII. Quid sedes, Verres? quid exspectas? quid te a Centuripina civitate, a Catinensi, ab Halaesina, a Tyndaritana, Hennensi, Agyrinensi ceterisque Siciliae civitatibus circumveniri atque opprimi dicis? Tua te altera patria, quem ad modum dicere solebas, Messana circumvenit; tua, inquam, Messana, tuorum adiutrix scelerum, libidinum testis, praedarum ac furtorum receptrix. Adest enim vir amplissimus eius civitatis legatus huius iudicii causa domo missus,

[a] *Ne forte . . . reticeat* is best taken as depending on an implied expression equivalent to "there is reason to be afraid" or the like: less easily as an (ironical) final clause depending on *princeps est*, "to enable him, of course, to complain . . ."

pronounce his eulogy is Heius—who is indeed the foremost of their citizens. Will not his loyalty to his public duties make him silent [a] about his private wrongs? Though I saw this and took account of it, 16
gentlemen, I ventured none the less to call Heius as a witness at the first hearing. Nor was this, after all, a risky thing to do; for even were Heius not to behave like the honest man that he is, what could he have said, when questioned? That the statues were still in his own house and not in the house of Verres? He could not possibly say any such thing. Even should he utter the most vile and shameless falsehoods, what he would say would be that he had wished to sell those statues, and had sold them for a satisfactory figure. But this man, the most distinguished citizen of Messana, being anxious that you should take him for the honourable gentleman he is, began by saying that he was officially the eulogist of Verres, because he had been instructed to be so, and went on to say that he had not wished to sell the statues, and that, had he been allowed any choice, he could never, on any terms, have been induced to sell those ancient family heirlooms in his chapel.—

VIII. And there you still sit, Verres, and still hope 17
—for what? How can you assert that Centuripa and Catina, Halaesus and Tyndaris, Henna and Agyrium and all the other cities of Sicily, are conspiring to overthrow you? It is your own Messana that does this—your second home, as you used to call it—your own Messana, I repeat, the city that assisted your crimes, witnessed your debaucheries, harboured the proceeds of your thefts and robberies. Her most eminent citizen is here with us, sent hither to attend this trial,

princeps laudationis tuae, qui te publice laudat; ita enim mandatum atque imperatum est; tametsi rogatus de cybaea tenetis memoria quid responderit —aedificatam publicis operis publice coactis, eique aedificandae publice Mamertinum senatorem praefuisse. Idem ad vos privatim, iudices, confugit; utitur hac lege qua iudicium est, communi arce sociorum. Tametsi lex est de pecuniis repetundis, ille se negat pecuniam repetere, quam ereptam non tanto opere desiderat; sacra se maiorum suorum repetere abs te dicit, deos penates te patrios reposcit.
18 Ecqui pudor est, ecquae religio, Verres, ecqui metus? Habitasti apud Heium Messanae, res illum divinas apud eos deos in suo sacrario prope cotidiano facere vidisti: non movetur pecunia, denique quae ornamenti causa fuerunt non requirit; tibi habe Canephoros, deorum simulacra restitue. Quae quia dixit, quia tempore dato modeste apud vos socius amicusque populi Romani questus est, quia religioni suae non modo in dis patriis repetendis sed etiam in ipso testimonio ac iure iurando proximus fuit, hominem missum ab isto scitote esse Messanam de legatis unum illum ipsum qui navi istius aedificandae publice

in charge of the eulogy of yourself; which eulogy, in his official capacity, he has pronounced, as he was charged and required to do; though, even so, you remember his reply when he was questioned about that cargo-ship—that the workmen who built it were got together officially and employed officially, and that a Messanian senator had been officially put in charge of its building. This same man, gentlemen, as a private person, implores your help, appealing to that common stronghold of our allies, the law under which this Court is constituted.—But though that law provides for the recovery of moneys extorted, he tells us that his aim is not to recover the money that was extorted from him—he feels this a relatively trifling loss: it is his sacred family heirlooms that he seeks to recover, it is the gods of his house and his fathers that he bids you, Verres, give back to him. Have 18
you no sense of shame? no fear of God? no concern for your safety? You have stayed at Messana in Heius's house, you have seen him perform divine service in his own chapel before those gods almost every day: well, the loss of his money does not trouble him, nor indeed does he so much long for the objects that were purely decorative—keep his Basket-bearers if you will, but restore to him the images of his gods.—And because he said this; because, the opportunity being offered him, this friend and ally of Rome quietly submitted his grievance to this Court; because his fear of heaven inspired not only his demand for the gods of his fathers but the very evidence that he gave as a witness upon oath: you must know that Verres has sent back to Messana one of the deputation, the very man who was officially put in charge of the building

praefuit, qui a senatu peteret ut Heius afficeretur ignominia.

19 IX. Homo amentissime, quid putasti? impetraturum te? quanti is a civibus suis fieret, quanti auctoritas eius haberetur ignorabas? Verum fac te impetravisse, fac aliquid gravius in Heium statuisse Mamertinos: quantam putas auctoritatem laudationis eorum futuram, si in eum quem constet verum pro testimonio dixisse poenam constituerint? Tametsi quae est ista laudatio, cum laudator interrogatus laedat necesse est? Quid? isti laudatores tui nonne testes mei sunt? Heius est laudator: laesit gravissime. Producam ceteros: reticebunt quae poterunt libenter, dicent quae necesse erit ingratiis. Negent isti onerariam navem maximam aedificatam esse Messanae? Negent, si possunt. Negent ei navi faciundae senatorem Mamertinum publice praefuisse? Utinam negent! Sunt etiam cetera; quae malo integra reservare, ut quam minimum dem illis temporis ad meditandum confirmandumque periurium.

20 Haec tibi laudatio procedat in numerum? hi te homines auctoritate sua sublevent? qui te neque debent adiuvare si possint, neque possunt si velint; quibus tu privatim iniurias plurimas contumeliasque imposuisti, quo in oppido multas familias totas in per-

[a] ἀτιμία, evidently on the ground of misconduct as πρέσβυς. The penalty would discredit Heius's evidence, and prevent his giving more of it (Hall).

of that ship of his, to request the senate there to deprive Heius of his civic rights.[a]—

IX. You utter fool, what did you look for? That 19 your request would be granted? Did you not know how much Heius was valued, and how greatly he was respected, by his fellow-citizens? And suppose that your request shall be granted; suppose that the Messanians agree to inflict some heavy penalty upon Heius: how much weight do you expect to be attached to their eulogy of you, after their decreeing the punishment of the man who has admittedly spoken the truth as a witness? But, in any case, it is a poor sort of eulogy when cross-examination is bound to turn your eulogist into your enemy. And are not your eulogists my witnesses? Heius is your eulogist, and his evidence has done you the gravest harm.—Suppose I call the others: they will be glad to hold their tongues so far as they can, but they will say what they must say, however reluctantly. Are they to deny that a large freight-ship was built for Verres at Messana? Let them deny it, if they can. Are they to deny that a Messanian senator was officially put in charge of the construction of that ship? I should like to hear them do that. Nor is this all; but of what remains I prefer to say nothing at present, wishing to afford these persons as little time as may be for the concoction and corroboration of false evidence.—And now, is this an eulogy likely to 20 chime in with your purposes? are such men as these capable of giving you impressive support? men who should not help you if they could, and could not help you if they would; men whom you have wronged and insulted as individuals again and again, and in whose town you have brought lasting shame on family after

petuum infames tuis stupris flagitiisque fecisti. At publice commodasti. Non sine magno quidem rei publicae provinciaeque Siciliae detrimento. Tritici modium $\overline{\text{LX}}$ empta populo Romano dare debebant et solebant; abs te solo remissum est. Res publica detrimentum fecit quod per te imperii ius in una civitate imminutum est; Siculi, quod ipsum non de summa frumenti detractum est, sed translatum in Centuripinos et Halaesinos, immunes populos, et hoc plus impositum quam ferre possent.

21 Navem imperare ex foedere debuisti, remisisti in triennium; militem nullum umquam poposcisti per tot annos. Fecisti item ut praedones solent; qui cum hostes communes sint omnium, tamen aliquos sibi instituunt amicos, quibus non modo parcant verum etiam praeda quos augeant, et eos maxime qui habent oppidum opportuno loco, quo saepe adeundum sit navibus, non numquam etiam necessario. X. Phaselis illa quam cepit P. Servilius non fuerat urbs antea Cilicum atque praedonum; Lycii illam, Graeci homines, incolebant. Sed quod erat eius modi loco, atque ita proiecta in altum, ut et exeuntes e Cilicia praedones saepe ad eam necessario devenirent, et, cum se ex hisce locis reciperent, eodem defer-

[a] *i.e.*, at a fixed rate. Book iii. §§ 163-187 deals with Verres' misdeeds in connexion with the *frumentum emptum*.

[b] Not free from such obligations; but entitled, by their privileged position, to greater freedom from such acts of injustice than less privileged communities.

[c] The terms of the *foedus* between Rome and Messana included the stipulation that Messana should maintain one vessel in the Roman navy.

family by your lecherous outrages. It will be said that you have done good to their community. Not, certainly, without doing much harm to the interests of Rome and to the province of Sicily. Messana was bound to sell Rome 60,000 pecks of wheat each year,[a] and regularly did so: you, and you alone, exempted it from this duty. The interests of Rome have suffered, because, owing to your action, her imperial rights have been infringed in regard to this one community: the Sicilians have suffered, because the amount of corn concerned was not deducted from their total, but transferred to the free[b] states Centuripa and Halaesa, whose burden was to this extent made heavier than they could bear.

It was, by the treaty, your duty to require the 21
supply of a ship.[c] For three years, you did not; and for all that time, you demanded not a single man for military service. You behaved just as the pirates are wont to behave. They are the general enemies of all mankind; but none the less, there are some people of whom they make friends, not only sparing them but enriching them with stolen wealth. They select, for this purpose, the inhabitants of conveniently situated towns, where it is often desirable and sometimes necessary for them to put in. X. Thus Phaselis, captured as you know by Publius Servilius,[d] was not originally a Cilician pirate town, but inhabited by Lycians, a Greek people. But since its position on a projecting headland was such that the pirates often had to touch there on their outward journey from Cilicia, and land there again on their way back from our own part of the world, they

[d] One of the Court at this trial: he had conducted operations against the Cilician pirates with credit in 78–76 B.C.

rentur, adsciverunt sibi illud oppidum piratae primo
22 commercio, deinde etiam societate. Mamertina
civitas improba antea non erat; etiam erat inimica
improborum, quae C. Catonis, illius qui consul fuit,
impedimenta retinuit. At cuius hominis! Clarissimi
ac potentissimi; qui tamen cum consul fuisset, condemnatus est. Ita, C. Cato, duorum hominum
clarissimorum nepos, L. Pauli et M. Catonis, et P.
Africani sororis filius; quo damnato tum cum severa[1]
iudicia fiebant, HS $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ lis aestimata est. Huic
Mamertini irati fuerunt, qui maiorem sumptum quam
quanti Catonis lis aestimata est in Timarchidi pran-
23 dium saepe fecerunt. Verum haec civitas isti praedoni ac piratae Siciliensi Phaselis fuit; huc omnia undique deferebantur, apud istos relinquebantur; quod celari opus erat, habebant sepositum et reconditum; per istos quae volebat clam imponenda, occulte exportanda curabat; navem denique maximam, quam onustam furtis in Italiam mitteret, apud istos faciundam aedificandamque curavit; pro hisce rebus vacatio data est ab isto sumptus, laboris, militiae, rerum denique omnium; per triennium soli non modo in Sicilia verum, ut opinio mea fert, his quidem temporibus in omni orbe terrarum vacui, expertes, soluti ac liberi fuerunt ab omni sumptu,

[1] severa *is not in the best* MSS., *and the true reading is perhaps* cum iudicia fiebant *as in* § 133.

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[a] Consul 114 B.C. Nothing else is known of this affair with the Messanians.

[b] Apparently for extortion from the Messanians. Cicero's point is that they were then honest folk enough, if so very small an act of oppression could rouse their anger. It is implied that the penalty awarded corresponds to the claim for restitution they made.

entered into trade relations with it in the first place,
and later took it into partnership. Messana too was 22
not, in earlier days, a rascally community; nay, it was the enemy of rascals, as it showed by withholding the belongings of the consul Gaius Cato[a]; and Cato was no ordinary man, but a very eminent and powerful person. Yet, though an ex-consul, he was prosecuted and found guilty[b]; he, the grandson of two men so famous as Lucius Paulus and Marcus Cato, and the nephew of Publius Africanus; and being thus found guilty was sentenced, in days when our courts did strict justice, to pay a penalty of—£80! A man like Cato incurred the resentment of a community that has often spent more on a dinner for Timarchides than the sum that Cato had to repay
them. Yet this community it was that became the 23
Phaselis of this pirate and plunderer of Sicily. Hither from all quarters everything was brought, and with these people everything was left. All that needed concealment they kept stowed and hidden away. With their help he had everything he chose put on board ship by stealth and secretly carried off from Sicily. And it was they whom he got to build and construct him a large vessel for him to dispatch to Italy loaded with his stolen goods. In return for these same services, he exempted them from money payments, forced labour, military service, everything. For the space of three years they were not the only people in Sicily but, I do believe, at this time anyhow, the only people in the whole world who were totally and completely free and immune from every form of expense, inconvenience and

24 molestia, munere. Hinc illa Verria nata sunt, quod in convivium Sex. Cominium protrahi iussit, in quem scyphum de manu iacere conatus est, quem obtorta gula de convivio in vincla atque in tenebras abripi iussit; hinc illa crux in quam iste civem Romanum multis inspectantibus sustulit, quam non ausus est usquam defigere nisi apud eos quibuscum omnia scelera sua ac latrocinia communicavit.

XI. Laudatum etiam vos quemquam venitis? qua auctoritate? utrum quam apud senatum an quam
25 apud populum Romanum habere debetis? Ecqua civitas est, non modo in provinciis nostris verum in ultimis nationibus, aut tam potens aut tam libera aut etiam tam immanis ac barbara, rex denique ecquis est qui senatorem populi Romani tecto ac domo non invitet? qui honos non homini solum habetur, sed primum populo Romano, cuius beneficio nos in hunc ordinem venimus, deinde ordinis auctoritati, quae nisi gravis erit apud socios et exteras nationes, ubi erit imperii nomen et dignitas? Mamertini me publice non invitarunt. Me cum dico, leve est; senatorem populi Romani si non invitarunt, honorem debitum detraxerunt non homini sed ordini. Nam ipsi Tullio patebat domus locupletissima et amplissima Cn. Pompei Basilisci, quo, etiamsi esset invitatus a vobis, tamen devertisset; erat etiam Percenniorum, qui nunc item Pompeii sunt, domus honestissima, quo

[a] *i.e.*, the particular celebration of it at Messana.
[b] Gavius: see Book v. §§ 158-170.
[c] The rest of this paragraph argues that no member of the *Senate* will heed the Messanian eulogy.

obligation. Hence arose the Verrine Festival,[a] and 24
the banquet before which he bade Sextius Cominius to be dragged—the man at whom he threw a cup, and whom he ordered to be gagged and hustled off from the feast to a dark prison cell: and hence the cross to which, before the eyes of a great crowd, he elevated a Roman citizen[b]—the cross he dared not plant in any soil but that of the accomplices in all his robberies and crimes.

XI. And now, men of Messana, dare you still come to us with eulogy of any man whatsoever? And who shall heed what you say? Shall it be the
Senate, or shall it be the people, of Rome?[c] Is there 25
any community, not merely in our own provinces but among the remotest peoples of the earth, so powerful, so independent, nay, so inhuman and uncivilized—is there even a foreign king of such a kind—as not to offer lodging and hospitality to a senator of Rome? a mark of honour not so much paid to the individual, but in the first place to the Roman nation, by whose favour we senators attain our rank, and in the next place to the great senatorial order, which must be respected by our allies and by foreign peoples, if the glory and dignity of our imperial rule are to be maintained. Well, the people of Messana, officially, offered me no hospitality. The personal insult is a trifle: in thus treating a senator of Rome, they have failed to show due respect not to me but to the Senate.—For myself, as plain Tullius Cicero, the doors of the wealthy and honourable Gnaeus Pompeius Basiliscus stood open to welcome me, and I should have stayed with him, even if you had offered me hospitality; and there was the house of the much respected Percennius family that also now bears the

Lucius frater meus summa illorum voluntate devertit. Senator populi Romani, quod in vobis fuit, in vestro oppido iacuit et pernoctavit in publico. Nulla hoc civitas umquam alia commisit. "Amicum enim nostrum in iudicium vocabas." Tu quid ego privatim negotii geram interpretabere imminuendo honore
26 senatorio? Verum haec tum queremur si quid de vobis per eum ordinem agetur, qui ordo a vobis adhuc solis contemptus est.

In populi Romani quidem conspectum quo ore vos commisistis? nec prius illam crucem quae etiam nunc civis Romani sanguine redundat, quae fixa est ad portum urbemque vestram, revellistis neque in profundum abiecistis locumque illum omnem expiastis, quam Romam atque in horum conventum adiretis? In Mamertinorum solo foederato atque pacato monumentum istius crudelitatis constitutum est. Vestrane urbs electa est, ad quam quicumque[1] adirent ex Italia crucem civis Romani prius quam quemquam amicum populi Romani viderent? quam vos Reginis, quorum civitati invidetis, itemque incolis vestris, civibus Romanis, ostendere soletis, quo minus sibi arrogent minusque vos despiciant, cum videant ius civitatis illo supplicio esse mactatum.

27 XII. Verum haec emisse te dicis. Quid? peripetasmata[2] illa Attalica tota Sicilia nominata ab eodem Heio emere oblitus es? Licuit, eodem modo ut

[1] quicumque *is Mueller's emendation of the MS. reading* cum, *which Peterson keeps, adding* cives *after* ex Italia.

[2] peripetasmata *in the MSS. follows* Heio: *the transposition is my own: some editors bracket the word.*

name of Pompeius, with whom my cousin Lucius stayed as a most welcome guest. But so far as you were concerned, a senator of Rome, in your own town, passed the night sleeping out of doors. Never has any other community behaved like this. "Well, but you were prosecuting our friend." What, shall any man's view of the business in which I am engaged as a private individual be expressed by insulting the senatorial order? However, I will reserve this 26
complaint until your conduct is reviewed by the order that you, and thus far you only, have treated with contempt.

And now, I ask, how dare you face the people of Rome? Why have you not first pulled up the cross, still dripping with a Roman citizen's blood, the cross planted beside your town and harbour—pulled it up, flung it into the depths of the sea, and purified all the place where it was—before you approached Rome and the Roman people here assembled? That token of Verres' savagery has been set up on the peaceful soil of our privileged ally Messana. Is it you whose town has been chosen to display, to all who approach it from Italy, the cross of a Roman citizen before they can discern any of Rome's friends? And you point out that cross to the people of Regium, whose citizen rights you envy them, and to the Roman citizens that live among you, bidding them think less proudly of themselves and less disdainfully of you, since they see Roman citizenship rewarded with such a penalty as this.—

XII. Well, you tell us you bought those statues 27
from Heius. What then of his gold-brocade tapestries, renowned throughout Sicily? Did you forget to buy them? You might have bought them—just as you

signa. Quid enim actum est? an litteris pepercisti? Verum hominem amentem hoc fugit: minus clarum putavit fore quod de armario quam quod de sacrario esset ablatum. At quo modo abstulit? Non possum dicere planius quam ipse apud vos dixit Heius. Cum quaesissem num quid aliud de bonis eius pervenisset ad Verrem, respondit istum ad se misisse ut sibi mitteret Agrigentum peripetasmata. Quaesivi misissetne; respondit id quod necesse erat, se dicto audientem fuisse praetori, misisse. Rogavi pervenissentne Agrigentum; dixit pervenisse. Quaesivi quem ad modum revertissent; negavit adhuc revertisse. Risus populi atque admiratio omnium vestrum
28 facta est. Hic tibi in mentem non venit iubere ut haec quoque referret HS VI milibus D se tibi vendidisse? Metuisti ne aes alienum tibi cresceret, si HS VI milibus D tibi constarent ea quae tu facile posses vendere HS ducentis milibus? Fuit tanti, mihi crede; haberes quod defenderes; nemo quaereret quanti illa res esset; si modo te posses dicere emisse, facile cui velles tuam causam et factum probares; nunc de peripetasmatis quem ad modum te expedias non habes.

29 Quid? a Phylarcho Centuripino, homine locuplete ac nobili, phaleras pulcherrime factas, quae regis Hieronis fuisse dicuntur, utrum tandem abstulisti an emisti? In Sicilia quidem cum essem, sic a Centuri-

[a] For a purely nominal price.

bought the statues.[a] What happened, then? Did you wish to save writing-paper?—No; the fool never thought of it; he imagined that robbing a cupboard would be less noticed than robbing a chapel. And how was the robbery effected? I cannot tell you this more clearly than Heius himself has told it to you. When I asked him if any of his other possessions had passed into Verres' hands, he replied that Verres had sent him word to send the tapestries to him at Agrigentum. I asked if he had sent them; he replied, as he was bound to reply, that he had obeyed the governor's orders, and had sent them. I inquired if they reached Agrigentum; he told me that they did. I asked how they came back to him; he stated that so far they had not come back. The audience laughed; and you, gentlemen, were all startled.—Now did it not then occur to you, 28
Verres, to order Heius to enter in his books the sale of these things too to you for £65? Were you afraid of running into debt if you paid £65 for what you could easily sell for £2000? I assure you, it would have been worth doing; you would have had a defence to offer; no one would have inquired what the things were worth; if only you could state that you bought them, you would easily have justified yourself and your behaviour in anyone's eyes; whereas now you have no way of clearing yourself about these tapestries.

And next, how did you treat the wealthy and 29
nobly-born Phylarchus of Centuripa in the matter of the beautifully wrought bosses that are said to have belonged once to King Hiero? Did you simply take them, may I ask, or did you buy them? What I was told when I was in Sicily, both by the Centuripans

pinis, sic a ceteris audiebam—non enim parum res erat clara: tam te has phaleras a Phylarcho Centuripino abstulisse dicebant quam alias item nobiles ab Aristo Panhormitano, quam tertias a Cratippo Tyndaritano. Etenim si Phylarchus vendidisset, non ei, posteaquam reus factus es, redditurum te promisisses. Quod quia vidisti plures scire, cogitasti, si ei reddidisses, te minus habiturum, rem nihilo minus testatam futuram; non reddidisti. Dixit Phylarchus pro testimonio se, quod nosset tuum istum morbum, ut amici tui appellant, cupisse te celare de phaleris; cum abs te appellatus esset, negasse habere sese; apud alium quoque eas habuisse depositas, ne qua invenirentur; tuam[1] tantam fuisse sagacitatem ut eas per illum ipsum inspiceres[1] ubi erant depositae; tum se deprensum negare non potuisse; ita ab se invito phaleras sublatas gratis.

30 XIII. Iam ut haec omnia reperire ac perscrutari solitus sit, iudices, est operae pretium cognoscere. Cibyratae sunt fratres quidam, Tlepolemus et Hiero, quorum alterum fingere opinor e cera solitum esse, alterum esse pictorem. Hosce opinor, Cibyrae cum in suspicionem venissent suis civibus fanum expilasse Apollinis, veritos poenam iudicii ac legis domo profugisse. Quod Verrem artificii sui cupidum cognoverant tum cum iste, id quod ex testibus didicistis,

[1] tuam . . . inspiceres *Peterson*: istius . . . inspiceres *the best MSS.*: istius . . . inspiceret *Mueller.*

and by everyone else—for the facts were widely known enough—was this: that you had simply carried off these bosses from Phylarchus of Centuripa, exactly as you had carried off another famous set from Aristus of Panhormus, and a third set from Cratippus of Tyndaris. Nor, indeed, if Phylarchus had sold them to you, would you, after this prosecution was instituted, have promised to give them back to him. Knowing that many people were aware of the truth, you reflected that if you did give them back you would be so much the poorer, and the facts would come out in the evidence none the less; and therefore you did not give them back. Phylarchus has stated on oath that, knowing your weakness, as your friends call it, he was anxious to keep you in the dark about his bosses; that when he was questioned by you he denied having them; that, further, he had put them in another man's keeping to prevent their being discovered; that you were clever enough to get a sight of them by means of the very person into whose keeping he had given them; that he was thus found out, and denial was useless; and that the bosses were in consequence taken from him, by force and without payment.

XIII. Now it is worth while, gentlemen, to see 30 how the man used to track out and discover all these treasures. There are two brothers called Tlepolemus and Hiero, natives of Cibyra, one of whom, I believe, was a modeller in wax, and the other a painter. These men, I understand, were suspected by their fellow-citizens of robbing the temple of Apollo at Cibyra, and being afraid of prosecution and punishment fled into exile. At the time when, as you have been told by my witnesses, Verres arrived at Cibyra

Cibyram cum inanibus syngraphis venerat, domo fugientes ad eum se exsules, cum iste esset in Asia, contulerunt. Habuit eos secum illo tempore, et in legationis praedis atque furtis multum illorum opera
31 consilioque usus est. Hi sunt illi quibus in tabulis refert sese Q. Tadius dedisse iussu istius "Graecis pictoribus." Eos iam bene cognitos et re probatos secum in Siciliam duxit. Quo posteaquam venerunt, mirandum in modum (canes venaticos diceres) ita odorabantur omnia et pervestigabant ut ubi quidque esset aliqua ratione invenirent. Aliud minando, aliud pollicendo, aliud per servos, aliud per liberos, per amicum aliud, aliud per inimicum inveniebant; quicquid illis placuerat perdendum erat. Nihil aliud optabant quorum poscebatur argentum nisi ut id Hieroni et Tlepolemo displiceret.

32 XIV. Verum mehercule hoc, iudices, dicam. Memini Pamphilum Lilybaetanum, amicum et hospitem meum, nobilem hominem, mihi narrare, cum iste ab sese hydriam Boethi factam praeclaro opere et grandi pondere per potestatem abstulisset, se sane tristem et conturbatum domum revertisse quod vas eius modi, quod sibi a patre et a maioribus esset relictum, quo solitus esset uti ad festos dies, ad hospitum adventus, a se esset ablatum. "Cum sederem" inquit "domi tristis, accurrit Venerius; iubet me scyphos sigillatos ad praetorem statim

[a] The speeches have no other allusion to this affair.

[b] This period of Verres' career is handled in Book i. §§ 44-102.

[c] See Book i. § 128.

with those forged[a] bonds, these brothers discovered his fondness for the products of their skill; and when they later fled into exile, they betook themselves to him, as he was then in Asia. He kept them with him in those days, and made much use of their help and advice in the thefts and robberies of his assistant governorship.[b] These are the persons referred to 31
in the accounts of Quintus Tadius[c] as the "Greek painters" to whom he paid sums of money by Verres' orders. Having by now tested them well and learnt their worth, Verres took them with him to Sicily. When they got there, they scented their prey and tracked it to its lair, like hounds, in the most remarkable fashion; there was nothing they did not somehow or other manage to discover. Now they found a thing by threats, and now by promises; helped now by slaves and now by free men, now by a friend and now by an enemy: there was no hope for anything that took their fancy. The one prayer of those whose silver plate was demanded was that it might fail to gain the approval of Hiero and Tlepolemus.

XIV. Now there is a story you really must hear, 32
gentlemen. I remember being told by my friend and host Pamphilus of Lilybaeum, a man of high standing there, how Verres used his authority to rob him of a jug made by Boethus, a massive and most beautiful piece of work, and he had gone home melancholy and distressed, of course, at being robbed of such a vessel, a legacy from his father and his forefathers that he was accustomed to use on feast-days and to do honour to his guests. "I was sitting sadly at home," he told me, "when a temple slave marched up to me, and ordered me to bring my embossed cups to the

adferre. Permotus sum " inquit; " binos habebam; iubeo promi utrosque, ne quid plus mali nasceretur, et mecum ad praetoris domum ferri. Eo cum venio, praetor quiescebat; fratres illi Cibyratae inambulabant. Qui me ubi viderunt 'Ubi sunt, Pamphile,' inquiunt, 'scyphi?' Ostendo tristis; laudant. Incipio queri me nihil habiturum quod alicuius esset pretii si etiam scyphi essent ablati. Tum illi, ubi me conturbatum vident, 'Quid vis nobis dare ut isti abs te ne auferantur?' Ne multa, HS mille me " inquit " poposcerunt; dixi me daturum. Vocat interea praetor, poscit scyphos." Tum illos coepisse praetori dicere putasse se, id quod audissent, alicuius pretii scyphos esse Pamphili; luteum negotium esse, non dignum quod in suo argento Verres haberet. Ait ille idem sibi videri. Ita Pamphilus scyphos optimos aufert.

33 Et mehercule ego antea, tametsi hoc nescio quid nugatorium sciebam esse, ista intellegere, tamen mirari solebam istum in his ipsis rebus aliquem sensum habere, quem scirem nulla in re quicquam simile hominis habere. XV. Tum primum intellexi ad eam rem istos fratres Cibyratas fuisse, ut iste in furando manibus suis oculis illorum uteretur. At ita studiosus est huius praeclarae existimationis, ut putetur in hisce rebus intellegens esse, ut nuper—videte ho-

governor without delay. I was much upset," he said, "I had a pair of them; I ordered them both to be got out, that nothing worse might happen, and to be brought along with me to the governor's house. When I got there, the praetor was resting; but those brothers from Cibyra were walking about, and when they saw me, they cried, 'Where are the cups, Pamphilus?' I showed them, sadly enough, and they admired them. I began to complain that I should have nothing of any value left, if I were robbed of the cups also: whereupon, seeing me thus put about, 'What will you pay us,' they asked, 'to stop those cups being taken from you?' To cut the story short," he told me, "they asked me for £10, which I promised them. Meanwhile the governor had called for us and demanded the cups." Then, he said, the brothers proceeded to tell the governor that from what they had heard they had supposed the cups of Pamphilus were of some value; but they were rotten stuff, not worthy of a place in Verres' collection. Verres said he thought so too; and thus Pamphilus carried his most beautiful cups safely home.

Now though I was aware that expert knowledge of 33
such things was a trifling matter enough, I confess that up to that time I had been by way of wondering how it was that Verres had a certain amount of understanding in just these things, when I knew that he was below the level of a human being in all respects. XV. But now, for the first time, I perceived what these brothers from Cibyra were for: Verres was to use his own hands and their eyes for his thefts. Yet he is so eager to acquire this precious reputation of being a connoisseur in such matters that only the other

minis amentiam—posteaquam est comperendinatus, cum iam pro damnato mortuoque esset, ludis circensibus mane apud L. Sisennam, virum primarium, cum essent triclinia strata argentumque expositum in aedibus, cum pro dignitate L. Sisennae domus esset plena hominum honestissimorum, accessit ad argentum, contemplari unum quidque otiose et considerare coepit. Mirari stultitiam alii, quod in ipso iudicio eius ipsius cupiditatis cuius insimularetur suspicionem augeret, alii amentiam, cui comperendinato, cum tam multi testes dixissent, quicquam illorum veniret in mentem. Pueri autem Sisennae, credo, qui audissent quae in istum testimonia essent dicta, oculos de isto nusquam deicere neque ab argento digitum discedere.

34 Est boni iudicis parvis ex rebus coniecturam facere unius cuiusque et cupiditatis et continentiae. Qui reus, et reus lege comperendinatus, re et opinione hominum paene damnatus, temperare non potuerit maximo conventu quin L. Sisennae argentum tractaret et consideraret, hunc praetorem in provincia quisquam putabit a Siculorum argento cupiditatem aut manus abstinere potuisse?

35 XVI. Verum ut Lilybaeum, unde digressa est oratio, revertatur: Diocles est, Pamphili gener illius a quo hydria ablata est, Popilius cognomine. Ab hoc abaci vasa omnia, ut exposita fuerunt, abstulit. Dicat se licet emisse; etenim hic propter magnitudinem

day—to show you what a fool the fellow is—after the adjournment of the trial, when he was already as good as condemned and done for, early on one of the days of the games in the Circus, dinner being laid and the silver plate put out in the house of our honoured fellow-citizen Lucius Sisenna, who had a houseful of such distinguished guests as befitted a man of his rank, Verres went up to the silver and proceeded to a leisurely and attentive inspection of one piece after another. Some people marvelled at his folly in thus confirming, during the actual trial, the belief that he was just the greedy criminal he was accused of being; others at the lunacy of thinking about such things as that when the trial was half over and all those witnesses had given their evidence. No doubt Sisenna's servants, having heard of the evidence given against him, kept their eyes firmly fixed on him, and stayed close by the silver. Now it is the part of a com- 34
petent judge to infer from trifling circumstances how far a man will indulge or restrain his passion for this thing or that. Here is a man on his trial, and that trial half over, a man practically found guilty by the facts and by general opinion, and he cannot refrain from handling and inspecting Sisenna's silver before the eyes of a crowded gathering: will anyone believe that he could possibly have kept his greedy mind and hands from the Sicilians' silver, when he was the governor in command of their province?

XVI. Let us now, after this digression, go back to 35
Lilybaeum. Pamphilus, the man who was robbed of his jug, has a son-in-law, Diocles, surnamed Popilius, whose sideboard Verres swept clean of all its vessels just as they stood there. Verres may, if he chooses, claim to have bought them; for in this case, the theft

furti sunt, ut opinor, litterae factae. Iussit Timarchidem aestimare argentum, quo modo qui umquam tenuissime in donationem histrionum aestimavit. —Tametsi iam dudum ego erro qui tam multa de tuis emptionibus verba faciam, et quaeram utrum emeris necne et quo modo et quanti emeris, quod verbo transigere possum. Ede mihi scriptum quid argenti in provincia Sicilia pararis, unde quidque aut quanti
36 emeris. Quid fit? Quamquam non debebam ego abs te has litteras poscere; me enim tabulas tuas habere et proferre oportebat. Verum negas te horum annorum aliquot confecisse. Compone hoc quod postulo de argento, de reliquo videro. "Nec scriptum habeo nec possum edere." Quid futurum igitur est? Quid existimas hosce iudices facere posse? Domus plena signorum pulcherrimorum iam ante praeturam, multa ad villas tuas posita, multa deposita apud amicos, multa aliis data atque donata; tabulae nullum indicant emptum. Omne argentum ablatum ex Sicilia est, nihil cuiquam quod suum dici vellet relictum. Fingitur improba defensio, praetorem omne id argentum coemisse; tamen id ipsum tabulis demonstrari non potest. Si, quas tabulas profers, in his quae habes quo modo habeas scriptum non est,

[a] The law that prescribed the maximum value of such presents might be evaded by under-estimating the value of the present made (Hall).

being so considerable, something was, I believe, set down in writing. He told Timarchides to reckon up the value of the silver, and to undervalue it as thoroughly as any man ever did when making a present to an actor.[a]—But really it is absurd of me to have spoken at such length about your purchases, and asking whether you did or did not buy this or that, and how you bought it and how much you paid for it, when a single word will settle the matter. Produce me a *written* statement of the silver plate you acquired in Sicily, and of the vendor and price of the several articles. Well? Not that I ought to 36
be asking you for such documents: I ought to have your accounts already and to be producing them. Well, you tell us that for a part of these three years you have kept no accounts. Come, satisfy my request so far as the silver is concerned, and perhaps I may forgo the rest. "I have no statement written, and I can produce none." What is to be done about it, then? What do you suppose the members of this Court can do? Even before you became praetor, your town house was full of beautiful statues, many more were placed in your country-houses, many more stored in the houses of your friends, many more presented as gifts to other people; and you have no accounts to show that any of them were bought. All the silver plate in Sicily has been swept off, nothing left to any man that he would care to have called his own. The disreputable defence is concocted that our governor secured all this silver by purchase, and there are no written accounts by which even that can be proved true. If in such accounts as you do produce there is no entry to show how you come to possess what you do possess,

horum autem temporum cum te plurimas res emisse dicis tabulas omnino nullas profers, nonne te et prolatis et non prolatis tabulis condemnari necesse est?

37 XVII. Tu a M. Coelio, equite Romano, lectissimo adulescente, quae voluisti Lilybaei abstulisti; tu C. Cacurii, prompti hominis et experientis et in primis gratiosi, supellectilem omnem auferre non dubitasti; tu maximam et pulcherrimam mensam citream a Q. Lutatio Diodoro, qui Q. Catuli beneficio ab L. Sulla civis Romanus factus est, omnibus scientibus Lilybaei abstulisti. Non tibi obicio quod hominem dignissimum tuis moribus, Apollonium, Niconis filium, Drepanitanum, qui nunc A. Clodius vocatur, omni argento optime facto spoliasti ac depeculatus es; taceo. Non enim putat ille sibi iniuriam factam, propterea quod homini iam perdito et collum in laqueum inserenti subvenisti, cum pupillis Drepanitanis bona patria erepta cum illo partitus es; gaudeo etiam si quid ab eo abstulisti, et abs te nihil rectius factum esse dico. Ab Lysone vero Lilybaetano, primo homine, apud quem deversatus es, Apollinis signum ablatum certe non oportuit. Dices te emisse. Scio, HS mille. "Ita opinor." Scio, inquam. "Proferam litteras." Tamen id factum non oportuit. A pupillo Heio, cui C. Marcellus tutor est, a quo pecuniam

[a] In Book ii. § 140 he is called Claudius, and one ward only is mentioned.

[b] The point of this little badinage is that Verres is made to imply that £10 is quite a fair price, so that if the fact of the purchase can be proved his conduct is obviously beyond criticism.

and if for the period during which you claim to have bought most largely you produce no accounts whatsoever, is not your conviction inevitably secured alike by the accounts that you do produce and by those that you do not?

XVII. From Marcus Coelius, an excellent young Roman knight at Lilybaeum, you carried off all you cared to take. Without scruple, you carried off all the furniture of the active, accomplished and exceptionally popular Gaius Cacurius. From Quintus Lutatius Diodorus, who through the kind offices of Quintus Catulus was made a Roman citizen by Lucius Sulla, you carried off a large and handsome table of citrus-wood, to the certain knowledge of everyone in Lilybaeum. I will not charge you with your treatment of a very proper victim of your villainy, Apollonius the son of Nico, of Drepanum, now called Aulus Clodius, whom you despoiled and pillaged of all his admirable silver plate. Let that pass: for this man does not think himself wronged, inasmuch as you rescued the fellow when he was already lost and the halter closing round his neck, in that affair where you went shares with him in the patrimony of which he robbed his wards at Drepanum.[a] Any theft of yours from him gives me actual pleasure; I hold that you have never done a more honest action than this. But it was certainly not a proper thing to carry off that statue of Apollo from Lyso, the leading citizen of Lilybaeum, in whose house you were a guest. You will tell me you bought it. I know you did—for ten pounds. "Yes, I think so." I know you did, I tell you. "I will produce the record." Still, it was not a proper transaction.[b] And as for Heius, the boy whose guardian is Gaius Marcellus, 37

grandem eripueras, scaphia cum emblematis Lilybaei utrum empta esse dicis an confiteris erepta?

38 Sed quid ego istius in eius modi rebus mediocres iniurias colligo, quae tantum modo in furtis istius et damnis eorum a quibus auferebat versatae esse videantur? Accipite, si vultis, iudices, rem eius modi ut amentiam singularem et furorem iam, non cupiditatem eius perspicere possitis.

XVIII. Melitensis Diodorus est, qui apud vos antea testimonium dixit. Is Lilybaei multos iam annos habitat, homo et domi nobilis et apud eos quo se contulit propter virtutem splendidus et gratiosus. De hoc Verri dicitur habere eum perbona toreumata; in his pocula quaedam quae Thericlia nominantur, Mentoris manu summo artificio facta. Quod iste ubi audivit, sic cupiditate inflammatus est non solum inspiciendi verum etiam auferendi, ut Diodorum ad se vocaret ac posceret. Ille, qui illa non invitus haberet, respondit Lilybaei se non habere, Melitae
39 apud quendam propinquum suum reliquisse. Tum iste continuo mittit homines certos Melitam, scribit ad quosdam Melitenses ut ea vasa perquirant, rogat Diodorum ut ad illum propinquum suum det litteras; nihil ei longius videbatur quam dum illud videret argentum. Diodorus, homo frugi ac diligens, qui sua servare vellet, ad propinquum suum scribit ut iis qui a Verre venissent responderet illud argentum se

and from whom you took a huge sum of money, will you claim to have bought from him his chased goblets at Lilybaeum, or will you confess to having taken them?—

But why, in dealing with this part of the man's 38
offences, do I thus assemble his more commonplace outrages, which would seem to amount to nothing more than theft by himself and loss for his victims? Let me now tell you of an affair that will reveal to you not merely his greed, but the insanity, the madness, that sets him apart from all other men.

XVIII. There is a man of Melita named Diodorus, whose evidence you have already heard. For many years he has been living at Lilybaeum; he comes of a good family at Melita, and his high character has brought him distinction and popularity in his adopted home. It was reported to Verres about him that he owned some really good chased silver, and in particular, some cups of the kind called Thericlia, highly finished specimens of the art of Mentor. On hearing this, Verres conceived so passionate a desire not only to examine them but to carry them off that he summoned Diodorus and asked for them. Diodorus, having no objection to keeping them, replied that he had not them with him at Lilybaeum; that he had left them with a relative of his at Melita. Verres 39
forthwith sent special messengers to Melita, and wrote to certain people there, telling them to search for these vessels; he also asked Diodorus to write to this relative of his. Never did time pass so slowly as while he was waiting to set eyes on that silver. Diodorus, being a good careful fellow who was anxious to keep what was his, wrote to his relative, bidding him tell Verres' men, when they arrived, that

paucis illis diebus misisse Lilybaeum. Ipse interea recedit; abesse a domo paulisper maluit quam praesens illud optime factum argentum amittere. Quod ubi iste audivit, usque eo commotus est ut sine ulla dubitatione insanire omnibus ac furere videretur. Quia non potuerat eripere argentum ipse Diodoro, erepta sibi vasa optime facta dicebat; minitari absenti Diodoro, vociferari palam, lacrimas interdum non tenere. Eriphylam accepimus in fabulis ea cupiditate ut, cum vidisset monile, ut opinor, ex auro et gemmis, pulchritudine eius incensa salutem viri proderet. Similis istius cupiditas, hoc etiam acrior atque insanior, quod illa cupiebat id quod viderat, huius libidines non solum oculis sed etiam auribus excitabantur.

40 XIX. Conquiri Diodorum tota provincia iubet. Ille ex Sicilia iam castra commoverat et vasa collegerat. Homo, ut aliquo modo in provinciam illum revocaret, hanc excogitat rationem, si haec ratio potius quam amentia nominanda est. Apponit de suis canibus quendam qui dicat se Diodorum Melitensem rei capitalis reum velle facere. Primo mirum omnibus videri Diodorum reum, hominem quietissimum, ab omni non modo facinoris verum etiam minimi errati suspicione remotissimum; deinde esse perspicuum fieri omnia illa propter argentum. Iste non dubitat iubere nomen referri, et tum primum

[a] *Vasa colligere*, "collect equipment," is a common military phrase in connexion with striking camp: the play on words here is obvious.

within the last few days he had sent the silver off to Lilybaeum. Meanwhile he himself left the country: temporary exile seemed better than staying to witness the loss of his exquisite silver plate. When Verres heard this, he was so thoroughly upset that everyone felt sure he had taken complete leave of his senses. Because he could not himself rob Diodorus of his silver, he talked of himself as "robbed of those lovely vessels," threatened the absent Diodorus, uttered open cries of rage, and now and then even shed tears. The legend tells us that when Eriphyle saw the necklace—made, I suppose, of gold and jewels—its loveliness so excited the grasping woman that she betrayed her husband to his death. The greed of Verres was like hers; but his was of an even fiercer and wilder type, since her desire was for a thing she had seen, while his passions were aroused not only by his eyesight but by his hearing also.

XIX. He bade the whole province be searched for 40 Diodorus, who, however, had already struck camp and left Sicily with bag and baggage.[a] To get him back somehow to the province, Verres devised the plan—if the word "plan" can be applied to anything so frantic—of getting one of his "hounds" to state that he was ready to prosecute Diodorus of Melita on a capital charge. Everyone was at first astonished to hear of the prosecution of Diodorus, an entirely inoffensive person, whom no one could possibly suspect of crime, or even of the smallest misdemeanour; but it soon became clear that his silver plate was at the bottom of the whole business. Verres had no hesitation in authorizing the prosecution to go forward—this was, if I am not mistaken, the first

41 opinor istum absentis nomen recepisse. Res clara Sicilia tota, propter caelati argenti cupiditatem reos fieri rerum capitalium, neque solum reos fieri, sed etiam absentes. Diodorus Romae sordidatus circum patronos atque hospites cursare, rem omnibus narrare Litterae mittuntur isti a patre vehementes, ab amicis item: videret quid ageret de Diodoro, quo progrederetur; rem claram esse et invidiosam; insanire hominem, periturum hoc uno crimine, nisi cavisset. Iste etiam tum patrem, si non in parentis, at in hominum numero putabat; ad iudicium nondum se satis instruxerat; primus annus erat provinciae; non, ut in Sthenio, iam refertus pecunia. Itaque furor eius paululum, non pudore sed metu ac timore, repressus est. Condemnare Diodorum non audet absentem, de reis eximit. Diodorus interea praetore isto prope triennium provincia domoque caruit.
42 Ceteri non solum Siculi, sed etiam cives Romani hoc statuerant, quoniam iste tantum cupiditate progrederetur, nihil esse quod quisquam putaret se quod isti paulo magis placeret conservare aut domi retinere posse; XX. postea vero quam intellexerunt isti virum fortem, quem summe provincia expectabat, Q. Arrium, non succedere, statuerunt nihil se tam

[a] Fully described in Book ii. §§ 83-118. Sthenius also was prosecuted in absence on a capital charge.
[b] After his normal single year of office.

occasion on which he allowed the prosecution of a person in his absence. All Sicily became aware that 41
his covetous desire for men's figured silver plate was causing him to prosecute its owners on capital charges; and not only to prosecute them, but to do so in their absence. At Rome, Diodorus put on the garb of distress, and went round to all his supporters and former guests, telling his story everywhere. Verres' father wrote strongly to his son, and his friends also wrote, warning him to take care how he treated Diodorus, and not to proceed too far; the facts were known, and were arousing ill-feeling; he must be out of his senses; this one offence would convict him, if he were not careful. Verres still looked upon his father, if not as his parent, at least as a human being; he had not yet made adequate provision for his trial; it was his first year in the province; he was not stuffed with money as he was at the time of the Sthenius[a] affair. His insanity was consequently checked for the moment, not indeed by a sense of decency, but by fear and timidity. He was afraid to find Diodorus guilty in his absence, and removed him from the list of persons committed for trial. But the result was that Diodorus had to keep away from the province where his home was for nearly the whole three years during which Verres was governor.
Everyone else, Roman citizens as well as Sicilians, 42
at once felt sure that, since the greed of Verres could lead him so far as this, nobody had any reason for hoping to save or keep in his house anything that Verres fancied at all more than usual. XX. And when they learnt that he was not to be succeeded[b] by the gallant Quintus Arrius, for whom the province had been eagerly waiting, they felt sure that they

clausum neque tam reconditum posse habere quod non istius cupiditati apertissimum promptissimumque esset.

Tum iste ab equite Romano splendido et gratioso, Cn. Calidio, cuius filium sciebat senatorem populi Romani et iudicem esse, eculeos argenteos
43 nobiles, qui Q. Maximi fuerant, aufert. Imprudens huc incidi, iudices; emit enim, non abstulit; nollem dixisse; iactabit se et in his equitabit eculeis. "Emi, pecuniam solvi." Credo. "Etiam tabulae proferentur." Est tanti; cedo tabulas. Dilue sane crimen hoc Calidianum, dum ego tabulas aspicere possim. Verum tamen quid erat quod Calidius Romae quereretur se, cum tot annos in Sicilia negotiaretur, a te solo ita esse contemptum, ita despectum, ut etiam una cum ceteris Siculis despoliaretur, si emeras? Quid erat quod confirmabat se abs te argentum esse repetiturum, si id tibi sua voluntate vendiderat? Tu porro posses facere ut Cn. Calidio non redderes? praesertim cum is L. Sisenna, defensore tuo, tam familiariter uteretur, et cum ceteris
44 familiaribus Sisennae reddidisses. Denique non opinor negaturum esse te homini honesto, sed non gratiosiori quam Cn. Calidius est, L. Curidio, te argentum per Potamonem amicum tuum reddidisse. Qui quidem ceterorum causam apud te difficiliorem fecit. Nam cum te compluribus confirmasses reddi-

[a] Drinking-vessels, partly or wholly in the shape of horses or horses' heads. (Illustrated in L.C.L. Athenaeus, vol. v. *ad fin.*)

could not possibly keep anything so securely locked up or hidden away as to put any concealment or obstacle in the way of his covetous desires.

And next, he robbed Gnaeus Calidius, the distinguished and popular knight, whose son he knew was a senator and a judge in our courts of his famous silver "horses,"[a] which once belonged to Quintus
Maximus. Oh, I have made a false step here, gentle- 43
men; he did not rob him of them, he bought them; I am sorry I spoke; he will ride away from me on these horses in triumph. "I bought them, and paid for them."—I dare say you did. "And I will produce the receipt for them." Well, I may as well see the receipt; let me have it. By all means explain away this charge about Calidus—provided I may look at the receipt. But . . . why should Calidius have complained at Rome, that during all the long years of his business life in Sicily he was treated by you alone with so much scorn and contempt that he was even stripped of his property along with everyone else in Sicily—if you bought those things? Why did he declare that he would demand his silver back from you, if he sold it to you of his own free will? And further, could you have avoided giving the things back to such a man as Gnaeus Calidius?—especially since he was so intimate with your supporter Lucius Sisenna, and you had already given back their property to Sisenna's other
intimate friends. And lastly, you will not, I think, 44
deny that Lucius Curidius, an excellent man indeed, but not any more highly esteemed than Calidius is, did get his silver returned to him by you through your friend Potamo. Curidius has indeed made it harder for everyone else to deal with you. For though there were still a good many to whom you had promised

turum, posteaquam Curidius pro testimonio dixit te sibi reddidisse, finem reddendi fecisti, quod intellexisti praeda te de manibus amissa testimonium tamen effugere non posse. Cn. Calidio, equiti Romano, per omnes alios praetores licuit habere argentum bene factum, licuit posse domesticis copiis, cum magistratum aut aliquem superiorem invitasset, ornare et apparare convivium. Multi domi Cn. Calidii cum potestate atque imperio fuerunt; nemo inventus est tam amens qui illud argentum tam praeclarum ac tam nobile eriperet, nemo tam audax qui posceret, nemo tam impudens qui postularet ut venderet.

45 Superbum est enim, iudices, et non ferendum dicere praetorem in provincia homini honesto, locupleti, splendido "Vende mihi vasa caelata." Hoc est enim dicere "Non es dignus tu qui habeas quae tam bene facta sunt, meae dignitatis ista sunt." Tu dignior, Verres, quam Calidius? qui, ut non conferam vitam neque existimationem tuam cum illius—neque enim est conferenda—hoc ipsum conferam, quo tu te superiorem fingis: quod HS $\overline{ccc}$ divisoribus ut praetor renuntiarere dedisti, trecenta accusatori ne tibi odiosus esset, ea re contemnis equestrem ordinem et despicis? ea re tibi indignum visum est quicquam quod tibi placeret Calidium potius habere quam te?

46 XXI. Iactat se iam dudum de Calidio, narrat

[a] In some previous case, actual or threatened: the bribe was probably to desist from the prosecution, possibly to conduct it dishonestly (*praevaricari*) so as to ensure the acquittal of the accused.

their property back, as soon as Curidius had given evidence to the effect that you had given his property back to him, you ceased to give back anything further, perceiving that you would lose your plunder without escaping the evidence of your victims. Gnaeus Calidius, knight, has been allowed by all other governors to possess beautiful silver plate—allowed, when entertaining high officials or persons of rank, to equip and adorn his dining-room with the stuff in his own house. Many holders of civil and military power have been his guests; and not one of them has shown himself such a madman as to carry off those famous and beautiful pieces of plate, not one so unscrupulous as to demand them, not one so impudent as to ask him to sell them. It is indeed arrogance, 45
gentlemen, intolerable arrogance, for a governor in his province to say to a man of character, wealth and position, "Sell me your figured silver." This is as good as saying, "You are not worthy to have such works of art; they are fit only for people in my high position."—And are you to be set higher than Calidius, Verres? I will not compare your manner of life and reputation with his—no such comparison is possible: I will compare you with him only in the matter in which you pretend to be his superior. Does, then, the fact that you paid £3000 to bribery-agents to secure your election as praetor, and £3000 to that prosecutor [a] on condition that he gave you no trouble, entitle you to scorn and despise the order of knights? Is that why you think it improper for Calidius rather than you to be the owner of anything that takes your fancy?—

XXI. He has been boasting all the time of his 46
behaviour to Calidius, and telling everyone that he

omnibus emisse se. Num etiam de L. Papinio, viro primario, locupleti honestoque equite Romano, turibulum emisti? qui pro testimonio dixit te, cum inspiciendum poposcisses, evulso emblemate remisisse; ut intellegatis in homine intellegentiam esse, non avaritiam, artificii cupidum, non argenti fuisse. Nec solum in Papinio fuit hac abstinentia; tenuit hoc institutum in turibulis omnibus quaecumque in Sicilia fuerunt. Incredibile est autem quam multa et quam praeclara fuerint. Credo tum cum Sicilia florebat opibus et copiis magna artificia fuisse in ea insula. Nam domus erat ante istum praetorem nulla paulo locupletior qua in domo haec non essent, etiamsi praeterea nihil esset argenti, patella grandis cum sigillis ac simulacris deorum, patera qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur, turibulum. Erant[1] autem haec omnia antiquo opere et summo artificio facta, ut hoc liceret suspicari, fuisse aliquando apud Siculos peraeque pro portione cetera, sed, quibus multa fortuna ademisset, tamen apud eos remansisse ea
47 quae religio retinuisset. Dixi, iudices, multa fuisse fere apud omnes Siculos; ego idem confirmo nunc ne unum quidem esse. Quid hoc est? quod hoc monstrum, quod prodigium in provinciam misimus? Nonne vobis id egisse videtur ut non unius libidinem,

[1] erant (*Halm's conjecture*) *is not in the* MSS.

bought the things.—What of the censer belonging to Lucius Papinius, that well-known gentleman, that wealthy and highly-respected knight? did you also buy that? He stated in the witness-box that you asked him to send it for you to look at, wrenched off the embossed work on it, and sent it back to him thus.—You will perceive, gentlemen, that our friend is an art critic, not a money-grubber; precious masterpieces appeal to him, not precious metals. Nor was it only in the case of Papinius that he showed this moderation; he followed the same plan with all the censers in Sicily. And the number and beauty of these censers passes belief. I conceive that when Sicily was at the height of its wealth and prosperity there was an immense production of objects of art in the island. Before Verres became its governor, there was no person possessed of wealth even slightly above the average in whose house, even if it were otherwise bare of silver plate, you would not find a large dish embossed with representations of the gods, a bowl for the use of women in divine service, and a censer. All these were the work of ancient artists, and products of the finest craftsmanship: one might well infer that everything else in Sicily was once of corresponding excellence, and that, while misfortune had deprived them of many such treasures, they still had with them such as religious feeling bade them hold fast. I have said that of these there *were* many, that 47
they *were* in nearly every house in Sicily; and now I tell you, gentlemen, that to-day there is not one of them. Think what this means. What monstrous abortion is this that we sent to rule our province? One might well think that it was his aim, when he reached Rome again, to satisfy not his own single

non suos oculos, sed omnium cupidissimorum insanias, cum Romam revertisset, expleret? Qui simul atque in oppidum quodpiam venerat, immittebantur illi continuo Cibyratici canes, qui investigabant et perscrutabantur omnia. Si quod erat grande vas et maius opus inventum, laeti afferebant; si minus eius modi quidpiam venari potuerant, illa quidem certe pro lepusculis capiebantur, patellae, paterae, turibula. Hic quos putatis fletus mulierum, quas lamentationes fieri solitas esse in hisce rebus? quae forsitan vobis parvae esse videantur, sed magnum et acerbum dolorem commovent, mulierculis praesertim, cum eripiuntur e manibus ea quibus ad res divinas uti consuerunt, quae a suis acceperunt, quae in familia semper fuerunt.

48 XXII. Hic nolite expectare dum ego haec crimina agam ostiatim, ab Aeschylo Tyndaritano istum pateram abstulisse, a Thrasone item Tyndaritano patellam, a Nymphodoro Agrigentino turibulum. Cum testes ex Sicilia dabo, quem volet ille eligat quem ego interrogem de patellis, pateris, turibulis; non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paulo locupletior expers huius iniuriae reperietur. Qui cum in convivium venisset, si quicquam caelati aspexerat, manus abstinere, iudices, non poterat. Cn. Pompeius est, Philo qui fuit, Tyndaritanus. Is cenam isti dabat apud villam in Tyndaritano. Fecit quod Siculi non audebant; ille, civis Romanus quod erat,

appetite, not the lust of his own eyes, but the perverted desires of all the most covetous men alive. No sooner had he arrived at a town than those "hounds" of his from Cibyra were promptly let loose to smell everything out and run it to earth. Any big vessel or other large work of art they found they brought in triumphantly; if they failed to hunt out something of that kind, at any rate they would bag such small game as I have mentioned—dishes and bowls and censers. And then we can imagine the weeping and wailing of the women, when such things were done: small things, you may think, but things that cause great and bitter distress; to the poor women above all, as the objects are snatched from their hands that they have regularly used in divine service, inherited from their kinsmen, and had in their homes always.

XXII. And now, do not expect me to make a house- 48
to-house enumeration of all his misdeeds of this kind, to charge him with taking a bowl from Aeschylus of Tyndaris, a dish from Thraso, also of Tyndaris, a censer from Nymphodorus of Agrigentum. When I call my Sicilian witnesses, let him make his choice of one among them for me to question about these dishes and bowls and censers. You will find that not only no single town, but no single house whose owner was at all well off, escaped outrage of this type. When he arrived at a dinner-party, let him catch sight of any piece of figured plate, and he could not, I assure you, keep his fingers off it. There is a man of Tyndaris, Gnaeus Pompeius, formerly known as Philo, who gave a dinner for him at his country-house in the Tyndaris district. He did what the Sicilians dared not do, but what, being a

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impunius id se facturum putavit; apposuit patellam, in qua sigilla erant egregia. Iste continuo ut vidit, non dubitavit illud insigne penatium hospitaliumque deorum ex hospitali mensa tollere; sed tamen, quod ante de istius abstinentia dixeram, sigillis avulsis
49 reliquum argentum sine ulla avaritia reddidit. Quid? Eupolemo Calactino, homini nobili, Lucullorum hospiti ac perfamiliari, qui nunc apud exercitum cum L. Lucullo est, non idem fecit? Cenabat apud eum; argentum ille ceterum purum apposuerat, ne purus ipse relinqueretur, duo pocula non magna, verum tamen cum emblemate. Hic tamquam festivum acroama, ne sine corollario de convivio discederet, ibidem convivis spectantibus emblemata evellenda curavit.

Neque ego nunc istius facta omnia enumerare conor neque opus est nec fieri ullo modo potest; tantum unius cuiusque de varia improbitate generis indicia apud vos et exempla profero. Neque enim ita se gessit in his rebus tamquam rationem aliquando esset redditurus, sed prorsus ita quasi aut reus numquam esset futurus aut, quo plura abstulisset, eo minore periculo in iudicium venturus esset; qui haec quae dico iam non occulte, non per amicos atque inter-

Roman citizen, he thought he would run comparatively little risk in doing: he put on the table a dish with embossed figures of exceptional merit. The moment that Verres saw it, without hesitation he removed from his host's table this symbol sacred to the gods of home and hospitality; though, to be sure, with the moderation of which I spoke just now, having pulled off the engraved work he very generously sent back what was left of that silver
dish. Again, he behaved in the same way to 49
Eupolemus of Calacte, a man of good family who is the guest-friend and intimate of the Lucullus family, and is now serving in our army with Lucius Lucullus. He was dining at this man's house: most of the silver put on table was bare of embossed work, since Eupolemus did not wish to be stripped bare himself; but there were two cups, of no great size, but with embossed work upon them. Our friend here, as if he were an entertainer at a party anxious to secure his gratuity before he left, then and there had the embossed work torn off, with all the guests looking on.

To make a complete enumeration of Verres' deeds is neither my present purpose, nor necessary, nor at all possible; his villainy takes many forms, and I do no more than put before you indications and specimens of each variety. In all this business, indeed, he did not behave as though he would one day be called to account for it, but just as though either he would never be prosecuted at all, or else, the more extensive his robberies, the less risk he would run when he appeared before his judges. For he came to do the things of which I now speak, not by stealth nor through his friends and agents, but openly and from

pretes, sed palam de loco superiore ageret pro imperio et potestate.

50 XXIII. Catinam cum venisset, oppidum locuples, honestum, copiosum, Dionysiarchum ad se proagorum, hoc est summum magistratum, vocari iubet; ei palam imperat ut omne argentum quod apud quemque esset Catinae conquirendum curaret et ad se adferendum. Phylarchum Centuripinum, primum hominem genere, virtute, pecunia, non hoc idem iuratum dicere audistis, sibi istum negotium dedisse atque imperasse ut Centuripinis, in civitate totius Siciliae multo maxima et locupletissima, omne argentum conquireret et ad se comportari iuberet? Agyrio similiter istius imperio vasa Corinthia per Apollodorum, quem testem audistis, Syracusas deportata
51 sunt. Illa vero optima,[1] quod, cum Haluntium venisset praetor laboriosus et diligens, ipse in oppidum noluit accedere, quod erat difficili ascensu atque arduo, Archagathum Haluntinum, hominem non solum domi, sed tota Sicilia in primis nobilem, vocari iussit. Ei negotium dedit ut, quicquid Halunti esset argenti caelati aut si quid etiam Corinthiorum, id omne statim ad mare ex oppido deportaretur. Escendit in oppidum Archagathus. Homo nobilis, qui a suis amari et diligi vellet, ferebat graviter illam sibi ab isto provinciam datam, nec quid faceret habebat; pronuntiat quid sibi imperatum esset, iubet omnes proferre quod haberent. Metus erat summus; ipse enim tyrannus non discedebat longius;

[1] optima est *MSS.*

his official seat, and by the use of his civil and military authority.

XXIII. On arriving at the wealthy, prosperous and 50
reputable town of Catina, he sent for Dionysiarchus, who was President—that is to say, the chief magistrate—of the town, and openly ordered him to see that all the silver plate in all the houses in Catina was looked out and brought to him. You have heard Phylarchus, by birth, wealth and character the first man in Centuripa, swear to Verres' having ordered him to undertake the task of looking out all the silver plate in Centuripa—easily the largest and richest community in all Sicily—and of ordering it to be brought together to him. In the same way, by his orders, the Corinthian bronzes of Agyrium were carried off from there to Syracuse by the agency of Apollodorus, to whose evidence you have listened.
And there is something splendid about the way in 51
which our active painstaking governor, when he reached Haluntium, refused to make the steep and troublesome ascent to the town himself; he sent for Archagathus, one of the most distinguished men not only in Haluntium but in all Sicily, and gave him instructions to have all the figured silver plate in Haluntium, and even all the Corinthian bronzes, immediately carried down from the town to the seashore. Archagathus went up to the town again. This eminent man, who valued the affection and esteem of his own people, was much distressed by the task that Verres imposed upon him. But he could not help himself; he announced the order given to him, and bade everyone produce their possessions. Great alarm was felt; for his majesty himself was still close at hand, reclining in his litter on the shore

Archagathum et argentum in lectica cubans ad mare
52 infra oppidum exspectabat. Quem concursum in oppido factum putatis, quem clamorem, quem porro fletum mulierum? qui videret equum Troianum introductum, urbem captam diceret. Efferri sine thecis vasa, extorqueri alia e manibus mulierum, ecfringi multorum fores, revelli claustra. Quid enim putatis? Scuta si quando conquiruntur a privatis in bello ac tumultu, tamen homines inviti dant, etsi ad salutem communem dari sentiunt; ne quem putetis sine maximo dolore argentum caelatum domo, quod alter eriperet, protulisse. Omnia deferuntur. Cibyratae fratres vocantur; pauca improbant; quae probarant, iis crustae aut emblemata detrahebantur. Sic Haluntini excussis deliciis cum argento puro domum revertuntur.

53 XXIV. Quod umquam, iudices, huiusce modi everriculum ulla in provincia fuit? Avertere aliquid de publico quam obscurissime per magistratum solebant; etiam cum aliquid a privato nonnumquam, occulte auferebant; et ii tamen condemnabantur. Et si quaeritis ut ipse de me detraham, illos ego accusa-

below the town, and awaiting the return of Archagathus with the silver plate. Picture to yourselves 52
the hurrying to and fro in the town, the cries of grief, and the wailing of the women, too; anyone looking on would have thought that the Trojan horse had been admitted, and that the city was in its enemies' hands. Here vessels, stripped of their coverings, were being brought out of doors, there they were being torn from women's resisting hands; in many houses the locks were being wrenched off and the doors burst open. And can you wonder? Even when in some war-time emergency the houses of private persons are ransacked for shields, their owners are reluctant to give them up, though they know it is to save everyone from destruction; and you may be sure that the sharpest distress was felt by everyone who then brought forth his beautiful silver treasures for a stranger to rob him of them. Everything was taken down to the shore; the brothers of Cibyra were sent for; some few objects they rejected; where they approved, the decorations were removed from the vessels to which they were riveted or soldered. And the people of Haluntium, their precious things torn from them, took their vessels, now stripped and bare, and so returned home.

XXIV. Gentlemen, was ever a province swept by 53
so veritable a broom as Verres? Often enough men would use their official power to appropriate, as secretly as might be, a certain amount of public money; even if sometimes they took a certain amount from private individuals, they took it by stealth; and such men none the less were tried and convicted. Indeed, if you would have me speak to my own disadvantage, I feel that it is the prosecutors

tores puto fuisse qui eius modi hominum furta odore aut aliquo leviter presso vestigio persequebantur. Nam nos quidem quid facimus in Verre, quem in luto volutatum totius corporis vestigiis invenimus? Permagnum est in eum dicere aliquid qui praeteriens, lectica paulisper deposita, non per praestigias sed palam per potestatem uno imperio ostiatim totum oppidum compilaverit. Ac tamen, ut posset dicere se emisse, Archagatho imperat ut illis aliquid, quorum argentum fuerat, nummulorum dicis causa daret. Invenit Archagathus paucos qui vellent accipere; iis dedit. Eos nummos tamen iste Archagatho non reddidit. Voluit Romae repetere Archagathus; Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus dissuasit, sicut ipsum dicere audistis. Recita. ARCHAGATHI ET LENTULI TESTIMONIUM.

54 Et ne forte hominem existimetis hanc tantam vim emblematum sine causa coacervare voluisse, videte quanti vos, quanti existimationem populi Romani, quanti leges et iudicia, quanti testes Siculos[1] fecerit. Posteaquam tantam multitudinem collegerat emblematum ut ne unum quidem cuiquam reliquisset, instituit officinam Syracusis in regia maximam. Palam artifices omnes, caelatores ac vascularios, convocari iubet, et ipse suos complures habebat. Eos concludit, magnam hominum multitudinem. Menses

[1] *After* Siculos *the best MSS. add* negotiatores.

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[a] There is the usual play on the meaning of Verres' name.
[b] His official residence as governor, formerly the palace of the Syracusan kings.

of such men as this who have really earned the name of prosecutor, by running their thefts to earth with no more than their scent or their faintly-traced footmarks to guide them. What does my own chase of Verres[a] amount to—this hog, the print of whose whole body shows me where he has been wallowing in the mud? It is indeed a formidable undertaking to assail a man who, as he passes by a town, has his litter set down for a while, and then, not by sleight of hand, but by the open use of his official power, by a single official decree, plunders the whole town, house by house! He did, to be sure, order Archagathus to pay a few coins, for form's sake, to the ex-owners of the silver, so as to be able to say that he had bought it. Archagathus found a few of them who were willing to take the money, and these he paid. But even this sum Verres never repaid to Archagathus. The latter meant to sue him for it at Rome, but was dissuaded by Gnaeus Lentulus Marcellinus, as you have heard from his own lips.—Read their statement. *The evidence of Archagathus and Lentulus is read.*

Now I would not have you think that the man 54 aimed at piling up this great mass of silver ornaments for no reason at all. Let me therefore show you how much he cared for you, or for what Rome thought of him, or for the law and the law-courts, or for the witnesses from Sicily. Having amassed this vast collection of ornaments, and left not a single one behind for anyone, he set up a workshop—and a large one—in the Palace[b] at Syracuse. He gave public orders that all skilled workmen—engravers, metal-workers, and so on—should assemble in this place, besides the considerable number that he had in his own service; and he penned the whole crowd of them in there,

octo continuos his opus non defuit, cum vas nullum fieret nisi aureum. Tum illa, ex patellis et turibulis quae evellerat, ita scite in aureis poculis illigabat, ita apte in scaphiis aureis includebat, ut ea ad illam rem nata esse diceres; ipse tamen praetor, qui sua vigilantia pacem in Sicilia dicit fuisse, in hac officina maiorem partem diei cum tunica pulla sedere solebat et pallio.

55 XXV. Haec ego, iudices, non auderem proferre, ni vererer ne forte plura de isto ab aliis in sermone quam a me in iudicio vos audisse diceretis. Quis enim est qui de hac officina, qui de vasis aureis, qui de istius pallio non audierit? Quem voles e conventu Syracusano virum bonum nominato, producam: nemo
56 erit quin hoc se audisse aut vidisse dicat. O tempora, o mores! Nihil nimium vetus proferam: sunt vestrum aliquam multi qui L. Pisonem cognorint, huius L. Pisonis qui praetor fuit patrem. Ei, cum esset in Hispania praetor, qua in provincia occisus est, nescio quo pacto, dum armis exercetur, anulus aureus quem habebat fractus et comminutus est. Cum vellet sibi anulum facere, aurificem iussit vocari in forum ad sellam Cordubae, et palam appendit aurum; hominem in foro iubet sellam ponere et

[a] Rather as if an English governor were to be charged with wearing a grey flannel shirt and a blazer. The *tunica pulla* was a workman's garment; and the Greek cloak was improper for a Roman official.

giving them enough work to keep them busy for eight months without a break, though every vessel they produced was made of gold. The ornamental work that he had torn from dishes and censers he now proceeded to attach so ingeniously to the outside of the golden cups, and so cleverly to the inside of golden basins, that anyone would have supposed them designed for the purpose; while our governor himself, who tells us that it was his own watchful attention that kept Sicily at peace, used to sit in this workshop for most of the day, wearing a grey tunic and a Greek mantle.

XXV. Gentlemen, I should not dare to mention 55
these things, were I not afraid of your possibly saying that you have heard more about the man from the conversation of others than from my own speech in court. For who has not heard of this workshop of his, of those golden vessels, of his Greek mantle?—I will bring forward any one you choose to name of the honest men who make up the Roman colony at Syracuse; not one of them but will tell us that he has
heard about all this, if he has not seen it.—What an 56
age we live in! Yet I will speak of what is not very ancient history: there are a good many of you who can remember Lucius Piso, father of the present Lucius Piso the ex-praetor. While he was praetorian governor in Spain—he was killed there while holding this command—he was taking part in some military exercise, and somehow broke to pieces a golden ring that he was wearing. Wishing to have a ring made for him, he ordered a goldsmith to be summoned before his seat of judgement in the market-place at Corduba, and openly weighed out a certain amount of gold, told the man to set up his chair in the market-

facere anulum omnibus praesentibus. Nimium fortasse dicet aliquis hunc diligentem; hactenus reprehendet, si qui volet, nihil amplius. Verum fuit ei concedendum; filius enim L. Pisonis erat, eius qui
57 primus de pecuniis repetundis legem tulit. Ridiculum est me nunc de Verre dicere, cum de Pisone Frugi dixerim; verum tamen quantum intersit videte. Iste cum aliquot abacorum faceret vasa aurea, non laboravit quid non modo in Sicilia, verum etiam Romae in iudicio audiret; ille in auri semuncia totam Hispaniam scire voluit unde praetori anulus fieret. Nimirum ut hic nomen suum comprobavit, sic ille cognomen.

XXVI. Nullo modo possum omnia istius facta aut memoria consequi aut oratione complecti; genera ipsa cupio breviter attingere, ut hic modo me commonuit Pisonis anulus, quod totum effluxerat. Quam multis istum putatis hominibus honestis de digitis anulos abstulisse? Numquam dubitavit, quotienscumque alicuius aut gemma aut anulo delectatus est. Incredibile dicam, sed ita clarum ut ipsum negaturum
58 non arbitrer. Cum Valentio, eius interpreti, epistula Agrigento allata esset, casu signum iste animum advertit in cretula. Placuit ei; quaesivit unde esset epistula; respondit Agrigento. Iste litteras ad quos solebat misit, ut is anulus ad se primo quoque tempore afferretur. Ita litteris istius patri

place, and make the ring where every one could see him. Some may call him over-scrupulous: they may, if they will, but this is the worst that can be said of him. And after all, he must be forgiven: he was the son of the Lucius Piso who carried the first extortion law. Now it is absurd for me to speak of 57
Verres in the same breath as of Piso Frugi; and yet, consider how they differ. Verres manufactures enough golden cups to furnish half a dozen sideboards, without caring what may be said of him in the Roman law-courts, let alone in Sicily: Piso will have all Spain know whence comes the half-ounce of gold to make the governor's ring, acting up, plainly, to his third name,[a] just as Verres acts up to his second.

XXVI. Now I cannot possibly either bring to mind or include in my speech all the man's misdeeds; my aim is simply to indicate briefly the heads under which they may be divided, and this ring of Piso's has just reminded of one such that I had quite forgotten. You could hardly conceive the number of respectable persons whose rings he has stripped from their fingers. He never hesitated to do so whenever some one's ring, or the stone in it, caught his fancy. What I will now mention passes belief, but is so notorious that I believe the man himself will not deny it. A 58
letter from Agrigentum was delivered to his agent Valentius, and he happened to notice the impression of the seal. He liked it, asked where the letter came from, and was told that it came from Agrigentum. He wrote to the usual people, ordering the ring to be brought to him at the earliest possible moment; and as the result of his letter, Lucius

[a] *Frugi*, "honest."

familias, L. Titio, civi Romano, anulus de digito detractus est.

Illa vero eius cupiditas incredibilis est. Nam ut in singula conclavia, quae iste non modo Romae sed in omnibus villis habet, tricenos lectos optime stratos cum ceteris ornamentis convivii quaereret, nimium multa comparare videretur. Nulla domus in Sicilia
59 locuples fuit ubi iste non textrinum instituerit. Mulier est Segestana perdives et nobilis, Lamia nomine; per triennium isti plena domo telarum stragulam vestem confecit, nihil nisi conchylio tinctum: Attalus, homo pecuniosus, Neti, Lyso Lilybaei, Critolaus Aetnae, Syracusis Aeschrio Cleomenes Theomnastus, Helori Archonidas—dies me citius defecerit quam nomina. "Ipse dabat purpuram, tantum operam amici." Credo; iam enim non libet omnia criminari; quasi vero hoc mihi non satis sit ad crimen, habuisse tam multum quod daret, voluisse deportare tam multa, hoc denique, quod concedit, amicorum operis esse in
60 huiusce modi rebus usum. Iam vero lectos aeratos et candelabra aenea num cui praeter istum Syracusis per triennium facta esse existimatis? "Emebat." Credo; sed tantum vos certiores, iudices, facio quid iste in provincia praetor egerit, ne cui forte neglegens

[a] Instead of the usual *three*.

Titius, a Roman citizen and the head of a family, had that ring dragged off his finger.

There is another thing for which he had an incredible passion; and one would have thought he had got himself a mighty liberal supply of it, even if, for each of his dining-rooms, not only in Rome but in his country-houses too, he had aimed at completely furnishing thirty[a] couches with coverings and all accessories for the use of his guests. There was not one wealthy house in Sicily where he did not set up a weaving establishment. At Segesta there 59
is a lady of wealth and rank named Lamia, who for three years had her house full of looms making woven fabrics for him, and the whole of them dyed with purple. There was the wealthy Attalus at Netum, Lyso at Lilybaeum, Critolaus at Aetna, Aeschrio and Cleomenes and Theomnastus at Syracuse, Archonidas at Helorus—time is too short to give you all their names. "He provided the purple himself; his friends supplied the labour only." Well, possibly; parts of his misconduct I am willing for the present to pass over; and one would think it enough for me to accuse him of being able to provide all that purple, of planning to take so much out of the country, and finally of doing what he admits he did—making use of his friends' work-
people for such purposes as this. Besides which, do 60
you imagine that bronze-covered couches and bronze lamp-stands were ever made at Syracuse, during those three years, for anyone but Verres? He paid for them? Perhaps he did: all I am doing, gentlemen, is to give you an account of his conduct as governor of his province; I should not like any of you to regard him as having been wanting in energy,

nimium fuisse videatur, neque se satis, cum potestatem habuerit, instruxisse et ornasse.

XXVII. Venio nunc non iam ad furtum, non ad avaritiam, non ad cupiditatem, sed ad eius modi facinus in quo omnia nefaria contineri mihi atque inesse videantur, in quo di immortales violati, existimatio atque auctoritas nominis populi Romani imminuta, hospitium spoliatum ac proditum, abalienati scelere istius a nobis omnes reges amicissimi nationes-
61 que quae in eorum regno ac dicione sunt. Nam reges Syriae, regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romae nuper fuisse; qui venerant non propter Syriae regnum, nam id sine controversia obtinebant, ut a patre et a maioribus acceperant, sed regnum Aegypti ad se et ad Selenen matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Ii posteaquam temporibus rei publicae exclusi per senatum agere quae voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti sunt. Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit, itaque isto praetore venit Syracusas.
62 Hic Verres hereditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in eius regnum ac manus venerat is quem iste et audierat multa secum praeclara habere et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis large haec ad usum domesticum: olei, vini quod visum est, etiam tritici quod satis esset, de suis decumis. Deinde ipsum regem ad cenam vocavit. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium; exponit ea quibus abundabat, plurima et pulcherrima vasa argentea—nam

or as having failed to use his official authority to furnish and equip himself adequately.

XXVII. I come now to an action that is no mere theft, no mere piece of grasping cupidity, but is such, as I look at it, that it embraces and includes every possible type of wickedness—sacrilege, injury to the reputation and prestige of Rome, treacherous robbery of guests, the loss, through Verres' crime, of the goodwill of all the foreign kings that were most friendly to us, and of the peoples whom they rule
and govern. You are aware that the young Syrian 61
princes, the sons of King Antiochus, were not long ago in Rome. Their visit had no connexion with the Syrian throne, which was indisputably theirs, inherited from their father and their ancestors: it had to do with the Egyptian throne, to which they thought themselves and their mother Selene entitled. Prevented by the serious condition of public affairs from pleading their case before the Senate as they had hoped to do, they began the return journey to the dominions of their ancestors in Syria. One of them, Antiochus, chose to travel through Sicily, and thus came to
Syracuse, Verres being then governor. It made 62
Verres feel as if a legacy had come to him, when he saw come into his dominions, and under his power, a man who, as he had been told and was ready to believe, had with him many valuable treasures. He sent the prince quite generous supplies for his ordinary household needs—as much oil and wine as he thought proper, and also, from his own tithe-corn, as much wheat as was likely to be needed. Then he invited the prince himself to dinner. He had the dining-room arrayed with lavish splendour, setting out the numerous lovely silver vessels of which he had

haec aurea nondum fecerat; omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? rex ita discessit ut et istum copiose ornatum et se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur. Vocat ad cenam deinde ipse praetorem; exponit suas copias omnes, multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quae, ut mos est regius et maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium, ex una gemma pergrandi trulla excavata, manubrio aureo, de qua, credo, satis idoneum, satis gravem
63 testem, Q. Minucium dicere audistis. Iste unum quodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere praetori populi Romani satis iucundum et gratum illud esse convivium. Posteaquam inde discessum est, cogitare nihil iste aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quem ad modum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea quae pulcherrima apud eum viderat; ait se suis caelatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui illum non nosset, sine ulla suspicione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum; velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque ei mittitur.

64 XXVIII. Nunc reliquum, iudices, attendite, de quo et vos audistis, et populus Romanus non nunc primum audiet, et in exteris nationibus usque ad ultimas

so ample a stock—he had not yet made the golden ones I spoke of; and he took care that nothing should be lacking to the richness and completeness of the entertainment. The prince of course went home thinking of Verres as a wealthy man who had entertained him nobly. Then he himself asked the governor to dinner, and had all his treasures put on table, including a great deal of silver plate, and also a number of golden cups, which, as is common with kings and especially those of Syria, were adorned with splendid jewels. There was also a wine-vessel, a ladle hollowed out of a single enormous precious stone, with a handle of gold: about this you have heard the evidence of Quintus Minucius—nor can we, I conceive, desire a better or more impressive witness. Verres 63
took the various vessels up one by one, praising and admiring them; and the prince was delighted that his party was proving acceptable and agreeable to the great Roman governor. After the party broke up, Verres' one thought, as the sequel showed, was how to dismiss the prince from his province stripped and plundered. He sent to ask for the loan of the most beautiful vessels he had seen at his house, saying that he wished to show them to his own artificers. The prince, not knowing Verres, suspected nothing, and readily handed them over. Verres also sent to ask for the ladle carved out of precious stone, saying that he would like to examine it more carefully; and this too was sent to him.

XXVIII. And now, gentleman, note carefully the 64
end of this story. You have yourself heard the facts; the Roman nation will not hear them now for the first time; the tale of them has gone abroad to foreign nations, even to the uttermost parts of the

terras pervagatum est. Candelabrum e gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum reges ii quos dico Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent, quod nondum perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere potuerunt neque vulgo ostendere ac proferre voluerunt, ut et magnificentius videretur cum suo tempore in cella Iovis Optimi Maximi poneretur, et clarius cum pulchritudo eius recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret; statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Iovis Optimi Maximi dedicatum, legatos mitterent qui cum ceteris rebus illud quoque eximium ac pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent. Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quo modo; nam rex id celatum voluerat, non quo quicquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud ante praeciperent oculis quam populus Romanus. Iste petit a rege, et eum pluribus verbis rogat, ut id ad se mittat; cupere se dicit inspicere neque se aliis
65 videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est; imperat suis ut id in praetorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quo posteaquam attulerunt involucrisque reiectis constituerunt, clamare iste coepit dignam rem esse regno Syriae, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore qui ex clarissimis et pulcherrimis gemmis esse debebat, ea varietate operum

[a] Its restoration, after its burning in 83, was not completed till 69.

earth. There is a lamp-stand, fashioned of the most precious stones, a wonderful piece of workmanship, which these princes of whom I speak brought to Rome, intending to dedicate it in the Capitol. Finding the temple building not yet completed,[a] they could not dedicate their gift; so they were unwilling to expose it to public view, feeling that its dedication in the sanctuary of Almighty and most Gracious Jupiter would be more impressive if performed at the proper time, and that its beauty would be more striking if it were presented to men's eyes with its novelty unimpaired. They therefore resolved to take it back with them to Syria, with the purpose, as soon as they heard that the image of Jupiter had been consecrated, of sending an embassy to convey to the Capitol this most choice and lovely offering, together with others. These facts somehow or other came to the knowledge of Verres: the prince had wished them to be kept secret, not because he had any fear or suspicion, but in order that few eyes might behold the gift before those of the people of Rome. Verres asked the prince, implored him at great length, to send it to him, saying that he was eager to examine it and would allow no one else to see it. The youthful prince naturally had no sus- 65
picion of his evil intentions, and bade his people convey it to the governor's house, concealed in its wrappings as completely as possible. They did so, pulled off the wrappings and set it up; whereupon Verres broke into loud exclamations: it was worthy of the Syrian kingdom—of the royal munificence—of the Capitol. And indeed it could not but be a splendid object, thus fashioned of the most brilliant and beautiful stones; so intricate was its

ut ars certare videretur cum copia, ea magnitudine ut intellegi posset non ad hominum apparatum sed ad amplissimi templi ornatum esse factum. Cum satis iam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt, ut referrent. Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare; nequaquam se esse satiatum; iubet illos discedere et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

66 XXIX. Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari; dies unus, alter, plures; non referri. Tum mittit, si videatur, ut reddat. Iubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri; mittit iterum; non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat, rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quod ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum, quod Iovi Optimo Maximo, quod populo Romano servari videret, id sibi ut donaret rogare et vehementissime petere coepit. Cum ille se et religione Iovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multae nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris, iste homini minari acerrime coepit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia iubet ante noctem decedere; ait se comperisse ex eius regno piratas ad Siciliam esse
67 venturos. Rex maximo conventu Syracusis in foro

workmanship that its artistic quality seemed to vie with the richness of its material; and it was so large that it was easy to see it had been made not to furnish any human dwelling but to adorn the most magnificent temple. When they thought enough time had been allowed for its inspection, they began to lift it up in order to take it back again. Verres said that he wished to look at it again and again, that he had by no means had his fill of it; he told the men to go away and leave it behind. Accordingly, they returned to Antiochus empty-handed.

XXIX. At first the prince felt no fear or suspicion. 66
One day passed, another, several days: it was not returned. Then he sent word asking him kindly to restore it. "Come again to-morrow," was the answer. Antiochus, surprised, repeated his request: it was still not returned. He went in person to see Verres and ask for its return. And now observe the cool impudence of this brazen rascal. Though he knew, from the prince's own lips, that it was to be dedicated in the Capitol, though he was aware that it was being kept for Almighty Jupiter and the Roman people, he proceeded to ask, to entreat most earnestly, that it should be given to himself. Antiochus declared himself prevented from doing this by fear of Capitoline Jupiter and respect for public opinion; many nations could testify to why it had been made, and to whom it had been vowed. At this, Verres began to threaten him in the fiercest manner; and when he found that threats moved him as little as entreaties, he suddenly ordered him to be gone from the province before nightfall, saying that he had received information that pirates were on their way from his dominions to Sicily. Before a great gather- 67

—ne quis forte me in crimine obscuro versari atque affingere aliquid suspicione hominum arbitretur—in foro, inquam, Syracusis flens ac deos hominesque contestans clamare coepit candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo populo Romano monumentum suae societatis amicitiaeque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse; de ceteris operibus ex auro et gemmis quae sua penes illum essent se non laborare, hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea iam mente et cogitatione sua fratrisque sui consecratum esset, tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare donare dicare consecrare Iovi Optimo Maximo, testemque ipsum Iovem suae voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

XXX. Quae vox, quae latera, quae vires huius unius criminis querimoniam possunt sustinere? Rex Antiochus, qui Romae ante oculos omnium nostrum biennium fere comitatu regio atque ornatu fuisset, is cum amicus et socius populi Romani esset, amicissimo patre, avo, maioribus, antiquissimis et clarissimis regibus, opulentissimo et maximo regno, praeceps provincia populi Romani exturbatus est.
68 Quem ad modum hoc accepturas nationes exteras,

ing in the market-place at Syracuse—I say this lest I should by some chance be thought to be charging Verres with something of which no one knows, and building up a case out of circumstantial evidence—in the market-place at Syracuse, I repeat, with tears in his eyes calling on God and man to be his witness, the prince in a loud voice declared that a lamp-stand wrought of precious stones, which he was intending to send to the Capitol, and which he had meant to be a lasting token in that most famous temple of his own alliance and friendship with the Roman nation, had been taken from him by Gaius Verres; he was not concerned for his other works of art, in gold or precious stones, that were in Verres' hands, but that this one should be taken from him was a shame and a scandal. Though, in the purpose and intention of his brother and himself, it had already been consecrated, yet he declared that then and there, before that assembly of Roman citizens, he gave and offered it, hallowed and consecrated it, to Almighty and Most Gracious Jupiter, and called the divine Father himself to witness his solemn and sacred purpose.

XXX. Can any man's voice, or lungs, or bodily strength avail adequately to describe the heinousness of this single deed? This prince Antiochus had lived at Rome in the sight of us all for nearly two years with all the retinue and pomp of royalty; he was the friend and ally of the Roman nation, which had always had the friendliest relations with his father, his grandfather and his ancestors, the ancient and famous sovereigns of a rich and mighty kingdom; and this man was now flung out headlong from a Roman province.—What feelings did you suppose 68

quem ad modum huius tui facti famam in regna aliorum atque in ultimas terras perventuram putasti, cum audirent a praetore populi Romani in provincia violatum regem, spoliatum hospitem, eiectum socium populi Romani atque amicum? Nomen vestrum populique Romani odio atque acerbitati scitote nationibus exteris, iudices, futurum, si istius haec tanta iniuria impunita discesserit. Sic omnes arbitrabuntur, praesertim cum haec fama de nostrorum hominum avaritia et cupiditate percrebruerit, non istius solius hoc esse facinus, sed eorum etiam qui approbarint. Multi reges, multae liberae civitates, multi privati opulenti ac potentes habent profecto in animo Capitolium sic ornare ut templi dignitas imperiique nostri nomen desiderat; qui si intellexerint interverso hoc regali dono graviter vos tulisse, grata fore vobis populoque Romano sua studia ac dona arbitrabuntur; sin hoc vos in rege tam nobili, re tam eximia, iniuria tam acerba neglexisse audient, non erunt tam amentes ut operam, curam, pecuniam impendant in eas res quas vobis gratas fore non arbitrentur.

69 XXXI. Hoc loco, Q. Catule, te appello; loquor enim de tuo clarissimo pulcherrimoque monumento. Non iudicis solum severitatem in hoc crimine, sed

this affair would arouse in foreign peoples? With what effect would the news of your conduct reach the dominions of other kings and penetrate to the furthest regions of the earth—this tale of how a Roman governor in a Roman province insulted a king's majesty, plundered his own guest, and drove out the ally and friend of Rome?—Gentlemen, be assured of this, that your name, and the name of Rome, will spell bitterness and hatred to all foreign peoples, if this foul wrong that Verres has done is suffered to pass unpunished. They will all believe, and the more readily because the report of Roman covetousness and greed has become common talk, that this crime is not the crime of Verres only, but also he crime of those who have sanctioned it. Many monarchs, many free states, many wealthy and powerful individuals, are assuredly disposed to give our Capitol the adornment which the majesty of the temple and the renown of our empire demand. Let these understand that the malversation of this royal gift has excited your indignation, and they will believe that their own goodwill and their own gifts will be acceptable to you and to Rome. But let them hear that so grievous a wrong, done to so famous a prince in connexion with so splendid a gift, has been treated by you with indifference, and they will not be so lacking in sense as to spend labour, thought and expense upon things in whose acceptableness to you they do not believe.

XXXI. And in this matter I appeal to you, 69
Quintus Catulus; for it is of your own famous and beautiful building that I am speaking. It is proper for you to endue yourself as regards this charge, not only with the strict justice of a judge, but with

prope inimici atque accusatoris vim suscipere debes. Tuus enim honos illo templo senatus populique Romani beneficio, tui nominis aeterna memoria simul cum templo illo consecratur; tibi haec cura suscipienda, tibi haec opera sumenda est, ut Capitolium, quem ad modum magnificentius est restitutum, sic copiosius ornatum sit quam fuit, ut illa flamma divinitus exstitisse videatur, non quae deleret Iovis Optimi Maximi templum, sed quae praeclarius magnificen-
70 tiusque deposceret. Audisti Q. Minucium dicere domi suae deversatum esse Antiochum regem Syracusis; se illud scire ad istum esse delatum, se scire non redditum; audisti et audies homines[1] e conventu Syracusano qui ita dicant, sese audientibus illud Iovi Optimo Maximo dicatum esse ab rege Antiocho et consecratum. Si iudex non esses et haec ad te delata res esset, te potissimum hoc persequi, te petere, te agere oporteret. Quare non dubito quo animo iudex huius criminis esse debeas, qui apud alium iudicem multo acrior quam ego sum actor accusatorque esse deberes.

71 XXXII. Vobis autem, iudices, quid hoc indignius aut quid minus ferendum videri potest? Verresne habebit domi suae candelabrum Iovis e gemmis

[1] homines *Cobet for* MS. omni *or* omnes: *Peterson keeps* omni, *with the best* MSS.

something like the violence of a personal enemy and accuser. By grace of the Senate and people of Rome, your own glory is being hallowed within that temple; and together with that temple, the memory of your own name is being made sacred for all time. It is you who must concern yourself, and you who must exert yourself, to ensure that as the Capitol has been rebuilt with greater splendour, so it shall be adorned with greater richness than before; let us thus feel that conflagration to have been the will of heaven, and its purpose not to destroy the temple of Almighty Jupiter, but to require of us one more splendid and magnificent. You have heard Quintus Minucius 70
state that the prince Antiochus stayed in his house at Syracuse; that, to his knowledge, the lamp-stand was taken to Verres, and that, to his knowledge, it was not sent back again. You have heard Roman citizens of the Syracuse district state, and you shall hear others state, that it was vowed and consecrated to Almighty Jupiter by the prince Antiochus in their own hearing. Were you not a judge in these Courts, and had you been invited to prosecute for this offence, it is yourself above all others whose duty it would be to seek for vengeance, for satisfaction, for legal punishment of this outrage. And therefore I have no doubt of your proper attitude as a judge towards this charge, since, were you pleading before other men as judges, it would be proper for you to prosecute with far more vehemence than I myself have done.

XXXII. But I would ask all the members of this 71
Court if they can conceive any action more outrageous and more intolerable than this one. Shall Verres include in his furniture this lamp-stand, wrought in

auroque perfectum? cuius fulgore collucere atque illustrari Iovis Optimi Maximi templum oportebat, id apud istum in eius modi conviviis constituetur quae domesticis stupris flagitiisque flagrabunt? in istius lenonis turpissimi domo simul cum ceteris Chelidonis hereditariis ornamentis Capitolii ornamenta ponentur? Quid huic sacri umquam fore aut quid religiosi fuisse putatis, qui nunc tanto scelere se obstrictum esse non sentiat, qui in iudicium veniat ubi ne precari quidem Iovem Optimum Maximum atque ab eo auxilium petere more omnium possit? a quo etiam di immortales sua repetunt in eo iudicio quod hominibus ad suas res repetendas est constitutum. Miramur Athenis Minervam, Deli Apollinem, Iunonem Sami, Pergae Dianam, multos praeterea ab isto deos tota Asia Graeciaque violatos, qui a Capitolio manus abstinere non potuerit? Quod privati homines de suis pecuniis ornant ornaturique sunt, id C. Verres ab regibus ornari non passus est.

72 Itaque hoc nefario scelere concepto nihil postea tota in Sicilia neque sacri neque religiosi duxit esse; ita sese in ea provincia per triennium gessit ut ab isto non solum hominibus verum etiam dis immortalibus bellum indictum putaretur. XXXIII. Segesta est oppidum pervetus in Sicilia, iudices, quod ab Aenea fugiente a Troia atque in haec loca veniente conditum esse demonstrant. Itaque Segestani non

gold and precious stones, that belongs to Jupiter himself? Its resplendent brightness should have illuminated Almighty Jupiter's temple: shall it stand in Verres' private house, amid the orgies already alight with the flames of his debaucheries and wickedness? In the home of that foul profligate, shall the adornments of the Capitol be set among all those others that came to him from Chelidon? Is there anything, do you suppose, that will ever seem hallowed, or has ever seemed sacred in the past, to a man who, having committed so awful a crime, has at this moment no sense of guilt, who dares to face trial for a deed that leaves him no room even to entreat the mercy of Almighty Jupiter, to ask the help of him that all men are wont to ask? a man from whom the gods themselves claim restitution before this Court that was instituted to hear the claims of men. Do we wonder at the sins committed against Minerva at Athens, Apollo at Delos, Juno at Samos, Diana at Perga, and many another divine being in Asia and in Greece, by a man who could not keep his hands from violating the Capitol? Private persons are giving, and will give, their wealth to adorn that place: its adornment by royal princes has been prevented by Gaius Verres.

Once he had planned so fearful a crime as this, of 72
course he felt nothing holy or sacred in all Sicily from that time onward: for three years his conduct in the province made men feel that he had declared war not only on the human race but on the gods in heaven. XXXIII. There is, gentlemen, a very ancient town in Sicily named Segesta; it is alleged to have been founded by Aeneas, when he fled from Troy and arrived in our part of the world; and the Segestans

solum perpetua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam cognatione se cum populo Romano coniunctos esse arbitrantur. Hoc quondam oppidum, cum illa civitas cum Poenis suo nomine ac sua sponte bellaret, a Carthaginiensibus vi captum atque deletum est, omniaque quae ornamento urbi esse possent Carthaginem sunt ex illo loco deportata. Fuit apud Segestanos ex aere Dianae simulacrum, cum summa atque antiquissima praeditum religione, tum singulari opere artificioque perfectum. Hoc translatum Carthaginem locum tantum hominesque mutarat, religionem quidem pristinam conservabat; nam propter eximiam pulchritudinem etiam hostibus digna quam sanctissime colerent videbatur.
73 Aliquot saeculis post P. Scipio bello Punico tertio Carthaginem cepit; qua in victoria—videte hominis virtutem et diligentiam, ut et domesticis praeclarissimae virtutis exemplis gaudeatis et eo maiore odio dignam istius incredibilem audaciam iudicetis—convocatis Siculis omnibus, quod diutissime saepissimeque Siciliam vexatam a Carthaginiensibus esse cognorat, iubet omnia conquiri; pollicetur sibi magnae curae fore ut omnia civitatibus quae cuiusque fuissent restituerentur. Tum illa quae quondam erant Himera sublata, de quibus antea dixi, Thermitanis sunt reddita; tum alia Gelensibus, alia Agrigentinis, in quibus etiam ille nobilis taurus, quem crudelissimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris habuisse dicitur, quo vivos supplicii causa demittere homines et subicere flammam solebat. Quem taurum

in consequence regard themselves as bound to Rome not only by permanent alliance and friendship but also by ties of blood. Long ago, when Segesta was independently at war with Carthage on its own account, the town was assaulted, captured and destroyed by the Carthaginians, and everything in it that might add to the beauty of the city of Carthage was carried away thither. There was in the town a bronze image of Diana, regarded from very ancient times as highly sacred, and moreover, a work of art of extremely fine workmanship. Its removal to Carthage was no more than a change of home and worshippers; the reverence formerly felt for it remained, for its exceptional beauty made even an enemy people feel it worthy of the most devout adoration.
In the third Punic War, some centuries 73
later, Publius Scipio captured Carthage. In the hour of victory—I would have you observe his scrupulous uprightness, that you may rejoice in the noble patterns of upright conduct that our countrymen afford to us, and may hold Verres' incredible lack of scruple the more detestable on that account—knowing that Sicily had repeatedly and for long periods been ravaged by the Carthaginians, he called all the Sicilians together, and ordered a general search to be made, promising to do his utmost for the restoration to the several communities of all that was once theirs. Then it was that the treasures formerly removed from Himera were, as I have already related, given back to the people of Thermae; others to Gela; others to Agrigentum, including the famous bull said to have belonged to Phalaris, the most cruel of all tyrants, in which he tortured men by thrusting them into it alive and lighting a fire underneath it.

cum Scipio redderet Agrigentinis, dixisse dicitur aequum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Agrigentinis utilius, suisne servire anne populo Romano obtemperare, cum idem monumentum et domesticae crudelitatis et nostrae mansuetudinis haberent.

74 XXXIV. Illo tempore Segestanis maxima cum cura haec ipsa Diana de qua dicimus redditur; reportatur Segestam, in suis antiquis sedibus summa cum gratulatione civium et laetitia reponitur. Haec erat posita Segestae sane excelsa in basi, in qua grandibus litteris P. Africani nomen erat incisum eumque Carthagine capta restituisse perscriptum. Colebatur a civibus, ab omnibus advenis visebatur; cum quaestor essem, nihil mihi ab illis est demonstratum prius. Erat admodum amplum et excelsum signum cum stola; verum tamen inerat in illa magnitudine aetas atque habitus virginalis; sagittae pendebant ab umero, sinistra manu retinebat arcum, dextra ardentem
75 facem praeferebat. Hanc cum iste sacrorum omnium et religionum hostis praedoque vidisset, quasi illa ipsa face percussus esset, ita flagrare cupiditate atque amentia coepit; imperat magistratibus ut eam demoliantur et sibi dent; nihil sibi gratius ostendit futurum. Illi vero dicere sibi id nefas esse, seseque cum summa religione tum summo metu legum et iudiciorum teneri. Iste tum petere ab illis, tum minari, tum spem, tum metum ostendere. Oppone-

When restoring this bull to the people of Agrigentum, Scipio is said to have recommended them to ask themselves whether it were better to be the slaves of their own countrymen or the subjects of Rome, now that they possessed this memorial both of their countrymen's cruelty and of Roman kindness.

XXXIV. It was at this time that the utmost care 74
was taken to return to the Segestans the very statue of Diana that I speak of; it was brought back to their town, and set up once more in its ancient home, amid the loud rejoicings of the grateful citizens. There it was erected on a quite high pedestal, upon which was inscribed in large letters the name of Publius Africanus, and the statement of how he had restored the statue after the capture of Carthage. It was worshipped by the townsfolk, and all visitors went to look at it—when I was quaestor, it was the first thing they took me to see there. The figure, draped in a long robe, was of great size and height; but in spite of its dimensions, it well suggested the youthful grace of a maiden, with quiver hung from one shoulder, bow in the left hand, and the right hand holding forth a
blazing torch. No sooner had yonder enemy of all 75
religion and plunderer of all sacred things beheld it than his heart was kindled with the flames of insane desire, as though that torch had actually smitten him; he ordered the magistrates to take it down and give it to him, as the greatest favour they could confer on him. They replied that this would be a wicked thing for them to do, and that extreme fear of legal punishment, as well as the strongest religious motives, forbade them to do it. Verres besought and threatened them by turns, seeking now to encourage and now to frighten them. Among other arguments,

bant illi nomen interdum P. Africani; populi Romani illud esse dicebant; nihil se in eo potestatis habere quod imperator clarissimus urbe hostium capta monumentum victoriae populi Romani esse voluisset.

76 Cum iste nihilo remissius atque etiam multo vehementius instaret cotidie, res agitur in senatu. Vehementer ab omnibus reclamatur. Itaque illo tempore ac primo istius adventu pernegatur. Postea, quicquid erat oneris in nautis remigibusque exigendis, in frumento imperando, Segestanis praeter ceteros imponebat, aliquanto amplius quam ferre possent. Praeterea magistratus eorum evocabat, optimum quemque et nobilissimum ad se arcessebat, circum omnia provinciae fora rapiebat, singillatim uni cuique calamitati fore se denuntiabat, universis se funditus eversurum esse illam civitatem minabatur. Itaque aliquando multis malis magnoque metu victi Segestani praetoris imperio parendum esse decreverunt. Magno cum luctu et gemitu totius civitatis, multis cum lacrimis et lamentationibus virorum mulierumque omnium, simulacrum Dianae tollendum locatur.

77 XXXV. Videte quanta religio fuerit apud Segestanos. Repertum esse, iudices, scitote neminem, neque liberum neque servum neque civem neque peregrinum, qui illud signum auderet attingere; barbaros quosdam Lilybaeo scitote adductos esse

they brought up against him the name of Africanus, saying that the statue was the property of the Roman nation, and that they had no authority to dispose of what an illustrious Roman general, after capturing the enemy's city, had intended to be the memorial of a Roman victory. Verres abating 76
nothing of his urgency, and indeed growing more violent every day, the matter was brought before their senate, where it met with the most violent opposition from everyone; and on this occasion of Verres' first visit their refusal was maintained. Verres then proceeded to impose on Segesta greater burdens than on any other place in Sicily in the way of requisitioning sailors and rowers, or supplies of corn—considerably more than they were capable of bearing. In addition, he would summon their magistrates to his presence, sending for their best and most distinguished men, and dragging them round all the assize-towns of the province; he would tell each man severally that he would ruin him, and all of them together that he meant to smash their community to pieces. And thus, in the end, crushed by their many sufferings and fears, the Segestans agreed that the governor's command should be obeyed. Amid the grief and lamentation of the whole community, with tears and cries of grief from every man and every woman in it, a contract was authorized for the removal of the image of Diana.

XXXV. Mark now the strength of religious feeling 77
this evoked at Segesta. Gentlemen, let me assure you that not one person could be found, neither free man nor slave, neither citizen nor immigrant, who would venture to lay hands upon that statue; some foreign labourers were got in from Lilybaeum, who,

operarios; ii denique illud ignari totius negotii ac religionis mercede accepta sustulerunt. Quod cum ex oppido exportabatur, quem conventum mulierum factum esse arbitramini, quem fletum maiorum natu? quorum non nulli etiam illum diem memoria tenebant cum illa eadem Diana Segestam Carthagine revecta victoriam populi Romani reditu suo nuntiasset. Quam dissimilis hic dies illi tempori videbatur! Tum imperator populi Romani, vir clarissimus, deos patrios reportabat Segestanis ex urbe hostium recuperatos: nunc ex urbe sociorum praetor eiusdem populi turpissimus atque impurissimus eosdem illos deos nefario scelere auferebat. Quid hoc tota Sicilia est clarius, quam omnes Segestae matronas et virgines convenisse, cum Diana exportaretur ex oppido, unxisse unguentis, complesse coronis et floribus, ture, odoribus incensis usque ad agri fines prosecutas esse?
78 Hanc tu tantam religionem si tum in imperio propter cupiditatem atque audaciam non pertimescebas, ne nunc quidem in tanto tuo liberorumque tuorum periculo perhorrescis? Quem tibi aut hominem invitis dis immortalibus aut vero deum tantis eorum religionibus violatis auxilio futurum putas? Tibi illa Diana in pace atque in otio religionem nullam attulit? quae cum duas urbes in quibus locata fuerat captas incensasque vidisset, bis ex duorum bellorum flamma ferroque servata est; quae Carthaginiensium victoria loco mutato religionem tamen non amisit, P.

[a] It is implied that in war-time such feelings may be overpowered—though with this Diana this had not happened even then.

knowing nothing of the affair or its religious bearings, for a certain sum of money ultimately removed it. As it was being carried out of the town, you can imagine the crowd of women that gathered, and the tears of the older people, some of whom could still remember the great day when this same Diana had been brought back from Carthage to Segesta, carrying with it the news of the Roman victory. What a difference they would feel between now and then! Then, the illustrious commander of the Roman armies was bringing the god of Segesta, recovered from an enemy city, back to its own home: now, an evil and filthy Roman governor was committing the awful sin of carrying off that same god from an allied and friendly city. No story is better known throughout Sicily than that of how, when Diana was being borne out of the town, all the matrons and maidens of Segesta flocked to the spot, anointed her with perfumes, covered her with garlands and flowers, and burning incense and spices escorted her to the frontier of their land.—Even if 78
then, in the day of your power, blinded by your unscrupulous greed, you felt no great fear of a divine power so mighty, do you not shake and tremble before it now, when you and yours are in such awful danger? To what human being can you look for the help that heaven forbids him give you? and to what god, when you have violated religious sanctions so tremendous? Did you feel no reverence for that holy image in the quiet days of peace? [a]—And yet, though it beheld the capture and burning of two cities where it was lodged, it was twice saved from the sword and flames of war: changing its home after the triumph of Carthage, it did not lose its

Africani virtute religionem simul cum loco recuperavit. Quo quidem scelere suscepto cum inanis esset basis et in ea P. Africani nomen incisum, res indigna atque intoleranda videbatur omnibus, non solum religiones esse violatas, verum etiam P. Africani, viri fortissimi, rerum gestarum gloriam, memoriam virtutis, monumenta victoriae C. Verrem sustulisse.

79 Quod cum isti renuntiaretur de basi ac litteris, existimavit homines in oblivionem totius negotii esse venturos si etiam basim tamquam indicem sui sceleris sustulisset. Itaque tollendam istius imperio locaverunt; quae vobis locatio ex publicis litteris Segestanorum priore actione recitata est.

XXXVI. Te nunc, P. Scipio, te, inquam, lectissimum ornatissimumque adulescentem, appello, abs te officium tuum debitum generi et nomini requiro et flagito. Cur pro isto, qui laudem honoremque familiae vestrae depeculatus est, pugnas, cur eum defensum esse vis, cur ego tuas partes suscipio, cur tuum munus sustineo, cur M. Tullius P. Africani monumenta requirit, P. Scipio eum qui illa sustulit defendit? Cum mos a maioribus traditus sit, ut monumenta maiorum ita suorum quisque defendat ut ea ne ornari quidem nomine aliorum sinat, tu isti aderis, qui non obstruxit aliqua ex parte monumento

[a] Surnamed Nasica.

sanctity, and the great Africanus restored it to its ancient sanctity along with its ancient home. And I will add that, after this deed had been perpetrated, the sight of the bare pedestal, with the name of Africanus carved upon it, roused fierce resentment in every heart, not only because of the sacrilege, but because this man Verres had done away with the glory of the deeds, the memory of the valour, the record of the triumph of our gallant Publius Africanus.

When Verres was told this about the pedestal and 79
inscription, he imagined that the whole affair would be forgotten if he were also to remove the pedestal that stood there to tell of his wicked deed. And so, at his command, the Segestans made a contract for its removal; the text of this contract, extracted from the public records of Segesta, was read aloud to you in the first part of this trial.

XXXVI. And now, Publius Scipio,[a] I appeal to you—to you, with your youth and high character and eminent abilities—asking, demanding, that you perform the duty that you owe to your name and family. Why are you struggling on behalf of the man who has filched away the honour and glory of the Scipios? why are you hoping for the success of his defence? why am I playing the part that you should play, and shouldering the burden that you should shoulder? why does one Tullius demand the restoration of the memorials of Africanus, and a Scipio defend the man who carried them off? It is our tradition, inherited from our ancestors, that every man should so stoutly guard his own ancestors' memorials as to resist even their further adornment at the hands of other persons: will you support this man, who has not encroached in this way or that upon the memorial of

P. Scipionis sed id funditus delevit ac sustulit?
80 Quisnam igitur, per deos immortales, tuebitur P. Scipionis memoriam mortui, quis monumenta atque indicia virtutis, si tu ea relinques ac deseres, nec solum spoliata illa patieris, sed etiam eorum spoliatorem vexatoremque defendis?

Adsunt Segestani, clientes tui, socii populi Romani atque amici; certiorem te faciunt P. Africanum Carthagine deleta simulacrum Dianae maioribus suis restituisse, idque apud Segestanos eius imperatoris nomine positum ac dedicatum fuisse; hoc Verrem demoliendum et asportandum nomenque omnino P. Scipionis delendum tollendumque curasse; orant te atque obsecrant ut sibi religionem, generi tuo laudem gloriamque restituas, ut, quod per P. Africanum ex urbe hostium recuperarint, id per te ex praedonis domo conservare possint. XXXVII. Quid aut tu his respondere honeste potes, aut illi facere, nisi ut te ac fidem tuam implorent? Adsunt et implorant.

Potes domesticae laudis amplitudinem, Scipio, tueri, potes; omnia sunt in te quae aut fortuna hominibus aut natura largitur; non praecerpo fructum officii tui, non alienam mihi laudem appeto, non est pudoris mei P. Scipione florentissimo adulescente vivo et incolumi me propugnatorem monumentorum

[a] The two first names of Africanus are used to point the appeal to a man who is, so far, his exact namesake.

Publius Scipio,[a] but destroyed and done away with it altogether? Who then, in God's name, shall guard 80
the memory of Publius Scipio in his grave, who shall guard the records and tokens of his greatness, if you abandon and desert them, not only suffering them to be despoiled, but even supporting their ravisher and despoiler?

Segestans are here in court—your own dependents, the allies and friends of Rome. They tell you that after the capture of Carthage Africanus restored the image of Diana to their ancestors, and that it was set up and consecrated at Segesta in the great general's name. They tell you that Verres had it taken down and sent out of the country, and the name of Publius Scipio totally removed and destroyed. They beg and pray you to restore them the object of their worship, to restore to your family its honour and its glory, so that what they once recovered by the help of Africanus from the city of their enemies they may now save by your help from the house of a robber. XXXVII. What answer can you honourably give to this? And what can they do but make this appeal to you and to your honour? See, they are here and make it.

It is in your power, Scipio, to maintain the splendour of your family tradition; it is assuredly in your power, who possess all the advantages that nature and fortune can bestow upon a human being. I would not snatch from you the reward that the fulfilment of duty will bring you, nor covet the credit that belongs to another man; I would not be so forward as to offer myself as champion and protector of the memorials of Publius Scipio, when there is a Publius Scipio alive and well and at the height of his youthful

81 P. Scipionis defensoremque profiteri. Quam ob rem si suscipis domesticae laudis patrocinium, me non solum silere de vestris monumentis oportebit, sed etiam laetari P. Africani eius modi fortunam esse mortui ut eius honos ab iis qui ex eadem familia sint defendatur, neque ullum adventicium auxilium requiratur. Sin istius amicitia te impedit, si hoc quod ego abs te postulo minus ad officium tuum pertinere arbitrabere, succedam ego vicarius tuo muneri, suscipiam partes quas alienas esse arbitrabar. Deinde ista praeclara nobilitas desinat queri populum Romanum hominibus novis industriis libenter honores mandare semperque mandasse. Non est querendum in hac civitate, quae propter virtutem omnibus nationibus imperat, virtutem plurimum posse. Sit apud alios imago P. Africani, ornentur alii mortui virtute ac nomine; talis ille vir fuit, ita de populo Romano meritus est, ut non uni familiae sed universae civitati commendatus esse debeat. Est aliqua mea pars virilis, quod eius civitatis sum quam ille amplam illustrem claramque reddidit, praecipue quod in his rebus pro mea parte versor quarum ille princeps fuit, aequitate, industria, temperantia, defensione miserorum, odio improborum; quae cognatio studiorum et artium prope modum non minus est coniuncta quam ista qua vos delectamini generis et nominis.

82 XXXVIII. Repeto abs te, Verres, monumentum P. Africani; causam Siculorum quam suscepi, re-

powers. If, therefore, you will undertake to defend 81
the great name of your family, it will be for me not only to say nothing of the memorials of the Scipios, but to rejoice over the good fortune of Scipio Africanus in finding after his death kinsmen of his own to protect his famous memory, so that he needs no help from outside sources. If, however, your friendship with Verres ties your hands, if you think what I bid you do no part of your duty, then I will step in as your substitute to discharge your office, and will undertake to play what I have looked upon as another man's part. And if I do, let the illustrious aristocracy of which you are a member cease to complain that the Roman nation is, and always has been, glad to entrust active men of humble birth with public office. No man should complain that character counts for more than anything in Rome, when it is character that makes Rome the mistress of the world. Let not the Scipios alone possess the portrait of Scipio Africanus, nor them alone derive lustre from the great hero's renown: he was such a man, and so served Rome, that not one family but the whole country has the right to protect his fame. In this right I myself have a share, as a citizen of the empire whose proud and glorious fame is due to him; the more so because I do my best to follow him in the path where he leads the way for us all, the path of justice and temperance and strenuous endeavour, as the champion of the distressed and the enemy of the wicked; and the kinship of aims and pursuits that I thus have with him is hardly less close than the kinship of name and blood that is so precious to yourselves.—

XXXVIII. So, Verres, I demand from you this 82
memorial of Scipio Africanus. I abandon my under-

linquo, iudicium de pecuniis repetundis ne sit hoc tempore, Segestanorum iniuriae neglegantur: basis P. Scipionis restituatur, nomen invicti imperatoris incidatur, signum pulcherrimum Carthagine captum reponatur. Haec abs te non Siculorum defensor, non tuus accusator, non Segestani postulant, sed is qui laudem gloriamque P. Africani tuendam conservandamque suscepit. Non vereor ne hoc officium meum P. Servilio iudici non probem, qui, cum res maximas gesserit monumentaque suarum rerum gestarum cum maxime constituat atque in iis elaboret, profecto volet haec non solum suis posteris verum etiam omnibus viris fortibus et bonis civibus defendenda, non spolianda improbis tradere. Non vereor ne tibi, Q. Catule, displiceat, cuius amplissimum orbi terrarum clarissimumque monumentum est, quam plurimos esse custodes monumentorum, et putare omnes bonos alienae gloriae defensionem ad officium suum per-
83 tinere. Equidem ceteris istius furtis atque flagitiis ita moveor ut ea reprehendenda tantum putem; hic vero tanto dolore afficior ut nihil mihi indignius, nihil minus ferendum esse videatur. Verres Africani monumentis domum suam plenam stupri, plenam flagitii, plenam dedecoris ornabit? Verres temperantissimi sanctissimique viri monumentum, Dianae

taking to plead the cause of Sicily; for the moment, let this trial for extortion not take place; let the wrongs of Segesta go unheeded. But let Scipio's pedestal be given back again; let the name of our invincible commander be engraved upon it; and let the lovely statue that he took from Carthage be set up in its place once more. Who makes these demands of you? Not the champion of Sicily, not your prosecutor, not the people of Segesta, but he who has undertaken the protection and preservation of the great Scipio's name and fame.—And in thus doing my duty there is one member of this Court, Publius Servilius, of whose approval I am sure. He is a man who has done great things, and he is at this moment setting up memorials of what he himself has done and devoting all his attention to this task; and he will assuredly desire to leave these memorials to be guarded not merely by his own posterity but by all brave men and all true patriots, and not to be pillaged by scoundrels.—And you, Quintus Catulus, whose memorial is the greatest and noblest in all the world, will not, I am sure, regret that the protectors of our memorials should be as many in number as possible, nor that every honest man should reckon it a part of his duty to guard other men's renown.—For my own 83
part, the rest of Verres' robberies and villainies stir my heart no further than to make me feel that they call for denunciation; but this one afflicts me with such intense pain that I feel that nothing more shameful, nothing more intolerable could come to pass. Shall Verres take the memorials of Scipio of Africa to adorn his own house, a house full of lust and wickedness and foulness? Shall Verres take this memorial of a wholly temperate and upright man, this image of

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simulacrum virginis, in ea domo collocabit in qua semper meretricum lenonumque flagitia versantur?

84 XXXIX. At hoc solum Africani monumentum violasti. Quid? a Tyndaritanis non eiusdem Scipionis beneficio positum simulacrum Mercurii pulcherrime factum sustulisti? At quem ad modum, di immortales! quam audacter, quam libidinose, quam impudenter! Audistis nuper dicere legatos Tyndaritanos, homines honestissimos ac principes civitatis, Mercurium, qui sacris anniversariis apud eos ac summa religione coleretur, quem P. Africanus Carthagine capta Tyndaritanis non solum suae victoriae sed etiam illorum fidei societatisque monumentum atque indicium dedisset, huius vi scelere imperioque esse sublatum. Qui ut primum in illud oppidum venit, statim, tamquam ita fieri non solum oporteret sed etiam necesse esset, tamquam hoc senatus mandasset populusque Romanus iussisset, ita continuo signum ut demolirentur et Messanam deportarent
85 imperavit. Quod cum illis qui aderant indignum, qui audiebant incredibile videretur, non est ab isto primo illo adventu perseveratum. Discedens mandat proagoro Sopatro, cuius verba audistis, ut demoliatur; cum recusaret, vehementer minatur, et statim ex illo oppido proficiscitur. Refert rem ille ad senatum vehementer undique reclamatur. Ne multa, iterum iste ad illos aliquanto post venit, quaerit continuo de

Diana the virgin goddess, and set it up in a house defiled without ceasing by the debauches of whores and whoremongers?—

XXXIX. Shall we be told that this is the only 84
memorial of Scipio on which you have laid hands? What then of your robbing the town of Tyndaris of the beautifully-wrought image of Mercury set up there by the same generous benefactor?—And God help us, how unscrupulous and wanton and shameless his methods were! A day or two ago you heard the statement of the excellent men and leading citizens who represent the community of Tyndaris: how deeply they reverence this Mercury, and how they hold a yearly festival in his honour; how, after the taking of Carthage, Scipio gave them this statue, to mark and commemorate not merely his own triumph but their loyal conduct as our allies; and with what wicked violence Verres used his official power to take it from them. On his first visit to their town, with as little hesitation as if such conduct were proper and even unavoidable, or as if he were executing the instructions of the Roman senate and the decrees of the Roman nation, he promptly ordered them to take the statue down and convey it to Messana. Those 85
who heard the order given were so deeply shocked, and those who were told of it found it so incredible, that he did not, on this first visit, persist in his attempt. As he was departing, he instructed their president Sopater, whose statement you have heard, to take the statue down, uttered savage threats when Sopater refused, and left the town immediately afterwards. Sopater reported the matter to his senate; his words were received on every side with shouts of indignation. Well, some time later Verres came back again,

signo. Respondetur ei senatum non permittere; poenam capitis constitutam, si iniussu senatus quisquam attigisset; simul religio commemoratur. Tum iste: "Quam mihi religionem narras, quam poenam, quem senatum? vivum te non relinquam; moriere virgis nisi mihi signum traditur." Sopater iterum flens ad senatum rem defert, istius cupiditatem minasque demonstrat. Senatus Sopatro responsum nullum dat, sed commotus perturbatusque discedit. Ille praetoris arcessitus nuntio rem demonstrat,
86 negat ullo modo fieri posse. XL. Atque haec (nihil enim praetermittendum de istius impudentia videtur) agebantur in conventu palam de sella ac de loco superiore. Erat hiems summa, tempestas, ut ipsum Sopatrum dicere audistis, perfrigida, imber maximus, cum iste imperat lictoribus ut Sopatrum de porticu in qua ipse sedebat praecipitem in forum deiciant nudumque constituant. Vix erat hoc plane imperatum cum illum spoliatum stipatumque lictoribus videres. Omnes id fore putabant ut miser atque innocens virgis caederetur; fefellit hic homines opinio. Virgis iste caederet sine causa socium populi Romani atque amicum? Non usque eo est improbus; non omnia sunt in uno vitia; numquam fuit crudelis. Leniter hominem clementerque accepit. Equestres sunt medio in foro Marcellorum statuae, sicut fere ceteris

and at once asked about the statue. He was told that the senate had refused permission, and that it had been declared a capital offence to touch the statue without orders from the senate; and they spoke, also, of the veneration felt for it. "What is all this nonsense?" cried Verres; "veneration—capital offence—senate's permission? I'll have the life out of you; you will be flogged to death, unless the statue is handed over to me." Sopater, with tears in his eyes, reported the matter once more to his senate, and described the man's cupidity and threatening words. No answer was returned: the assembly broke up in panic-stricken confusion. Summoned by a message from the governor, Sopater explained the position, and said the thing was quite impossible. XL. What 86
now happened—it seems right to give all the details of what this brazen rascal did—was done in open court and from the governor's official seat of judgement. It was midwinter; the weather, as Sopater himself has told you, was very cold, and it was raining hard, when Verres bade his lictors take Sopater, fling him headlong from the colonnade where he himself was sitting into the market-place below, and strip him naked. The command had hardly been fully given before Sopater could be seen stripped of his clothes and surrounded by the lictors. Everyone expected to see the poor innocent fellow receive a flogging. But here they were mistaken. What, Verres have a friend and ally of Rome flogged for nothing? Oh no, he was not such a scoundrel as that: no one is bad all through, and Verres was never cruel. He treated the man quite gently and kindly. In the middle of the market-place, as in most other Sicilian towns, are equestrian statues of the Marcelli; and Verres,

in oppidis Siciliae; ex quibus iste C. Marcelli statuam delegit, cuius officia in illam civitatem totamque provinciam recentissima erant et maxima; in ea Sopatrum, hominem cum domi nobilem tum summo magistratu praeditum, divaricari ac deligari iubet.
87 Quo cruciatu sit affectus venire in mentem necesse est omnibus, cum esset vinctus nudus in aere, in imbri, in frigore. Neque tamen finis huic iniuriae crudelitatique fiebat donec populus atque universa multitudo, atrocitate rei misericordiaque commota, senatum clamore coegit ut isti simulacrum illud Mercurii polliceretur. Clamabant fore ut ipsi se di immortales ulciscerentur; hominem interea perire innocentem non oportere. Tum frequens senatus ad istum venit, pollicetur signum. Ita Sopater de statua C. Marcelli, cum iam paene obriguisset, vix vivus aufertur.

Non possum disposite istum accusare, si cupiam; opus est non solum ingenio verum etiam artificio
88 quodam singulari. XLI. Unum hoc crimen videtur esse et a me pro uno ponitur, de Mercurio Tyndaritano; plura sunt, sed ea quo pacto distinguere ac separare possim nescio. Est pecuniarum captarum, quod signum ab sociis pecuniae magnae sustulit; est peculatus, quod publicum populi Romani signum de praeda hostium captum, positum imperatoris nostri nomine, non dubitavit auferre; est maiestatis, quod imperii nostri, gloriae, rerum gestarum monumenta

selecting that of Gaius Marcellus, whose services to Tyndaris, and to the province as a whole, were the most recent and extensive, ordered Sopater to be set astride on it and bound fast to it—Sopater, a man of high rank in his community, and the holder of its highest office. It must be evident to all what agony 87
he underwent, bound naked to the metal surface amid all the rain and cold. Yet this cruel outrage continued until the cries of the whole crowd of the assembled people, overcome by the brutality of the deed and their pity for its victim, forced the senate to promise Verres the statue of Mercury. The gods above, they cried, would one day avenge their own wrongs: meanwhile an innocent man must not be allowed to die. Thereupon the senate in a body waited upon Verres, and promised him the statue; and so it was that, already nearly frozen stiff, Sopater was removed half-dead from the statue of Gaius Marcellus.

I cannot, if I would, prosecute Verres in any systematic fashion: to do so would require no mere ability, but a quite exceptional ingenuity. XLI. This 88
matter of the Mercury of Tyndaris may appear to be a single charge, and as such do I put it forward; but it is in fact a group of charges, and I do not know how I can distinguish them or treat them separately. I may charge him with extorting money, for he has robbed our allies of a statue worth much money; with public embezzlement, for he has not scrupled to carry off a statue that belonged to the Roman nation, was part of the plunder taken from Rome's enemies, and was erected by the authority of a Roman general; with treason, for he has dared to pull down and remove from the country a memorial of our country's

evertere atque asportare ausus est; est sceleris, quod religiones maximas violavit; est crudelitatis, quod in innocentem hominem, in socium vestrum atque amicum, novum et singulare supplicii genus excogi-
89 tavit. Illud vero quid sit iam non queo dicere, quo nomine appellem nescio, quod in C. Marcelli statua. Quid est hoc? patronusne quod erat? Quid tum? quo id spectat? utrum ea res ad opem an ad calamitatem clientium atque hospitum valere debebat? an ut hoc ostenderes, contra vim tuam in patronis praesidii nihil esse? Quis non hoc intellegeret, in improbi praesentis imperio maiorem esse vim quam in bonorum absentium patrocinio? An vero ex hoc illa tua singularis significatur insolentia, superbia, contumacia? Detrahere videlicet aliquid te de amplitudine Marcellorum putasti. Itaque nunc Siculorum Marcelli non sunt patroni, Verres in eorum
90 locum substitutus est. Quam in te tantam virtutem esse aut dignitatem arbitratus es, ut conarare clientelam tam splendidae, tam illustris provinciae traducere ad te, auferre a certissimis antiquissimisque patronis? Tu ista nequitia, stultitia, inertia non modo totius Siciliae, sed unius tenuissimi Siculi clientelam tueri potes? tibi Marcelli statua pro patibulo in clientes Marcellorum fuit? tu ex illius

power and fame and triumphs; with impiety, for he has profaned the holiest of religious sanctions; with cruelty, for he has devised a new and peculiarly horrible form of torture for an innocent man who is a friend and ally of Rome. Under what head to class, 89
by what name to describe, his use of the statue of Marcellus for his crime, it is indeed beyond my power to tell. What does it mean? Was it because Marcellus was their patron? Why, what should that fact imply? Should it have tended to the ruin, or to the rescue, of men bound to Marcellus by the ties of service and hospitality?—Perhaps your purpose was to make it clear that no protector could do anything to save your victims from your violence? The moral would be plain enough, that the legal authority of a rascally governor on the spot had more force than the support of honest protectors who were far away. Or are we to take this as a demonstration of the haughty and overbearing insolence that sets you apart from all other men? You reckoned, it would seem, on doing something to tarnish the fair fame of the Marcellus family. And of course that is why the members of that family are not the protectors of Sicily now, and Verres has taken their place. With 90
what measure of worth and dignity did you credit yourself, that you should seek to divert to yourself the loyalty of that famous and illustrious province, and deprive it of protectors who have served it so faithfully and so long? You slothful and empty-headed rascal, are you capable of protecting the interests, I will not say of Sicily, but of the poorest and meanest Sicilian? Would you use the statue of a Marcellus as a whipping-block for the loyal dependents of his family? would you seek to make

honore in eos ipsos qui honorem illi habuerant supplicia quaerebas? Quid postea? quid tandem tuis statuis fore arbitrabare? an vero id quod accidit? Nam Tyndaritani statuam istius, quam sibi propter Marcellos altiore etiam basi poni iusserat, deturbarunt simul ac successum isti audierunt. XLII. Dedit igitur tibi nunc fortuna Siculorum C. Marcellum iudicem, ut, cuius ad statuam Siculi te praetore alligabantur, eius religioni te ipsum devinctum[1] adstrictumque dedamus.

91 Ac primo, iudices, hoc signum Mercurii dicebat iste Tyndaritanos M. Marcello huic Aesernino vendidisse, atque hoc sua causa etiam M. Marcellum ipsum sperabat esse dicturum; quod mihi numquam veri simile visum est, adulescentem illo loco natum, patronum Siciliae, nomen suum isti ad translationem criminis commodaturum. Verum tamen ita mihi res tota provisa atque praecauta est ut, si maxime esset inventus qui in se suscipere istius culpam crimenque cuperet, tamen is proficere nihil posset. Eos enim deduxi testes et eas litteras deportavi ut de istius
92 facto dubium esse nemini possit. Publicae litterae sunt deportatum Mercurium esse Messanam sumptu publico; dicent quanti; praefuisse huic negotio publice legatum Poleam. Quid? is ubi est? Praesto

[1] *MS. readings are* religione te isti devinctum *and* religioni te eundem vinctum: *the text follows Nohl's emendation: see Peterson's edition for his own and other emendations.*

the token of his honour the means of torturing the very men who thus honoured him? And as to the future, what, may I ask, did you think would happen to your own statues?—Perhaps what did happen to them: he had ordered the people of Tyndaris to erect a statue to him near those of the Marcelli, on a still loftier pedestal, and as soon as they heard that his successor had arrived, they threw it to the ground. XLII. Well, the good fortune of Sicily has assigned Marcellus as one of your judges: under your governorship, Sicilians were bound to his statue; and now we deliver you, yourself bound hand and foot, for him to do justice upon you.

I may add, gentlemen, that Verres originally 91
asserted that the people of Tyndaris had sold this statue of Mercury to Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, who is here in court, and that he hoped, moreover, that Marcus Marcellus himself would support him by saying so. It never seemed likely to me that a young man of his rank, who was a protector of Sicily, would thus lend his name for the purpose of shifting the charge off Verres' shoulders. In any case, I have had the foresight to take such complete precautions in this affair that, however eager we might find Marcellus to take upon himself censure and prosecution for what Verres did, he would be bound to fail completely. I have brought over witnesses from Sicily, and brought with me written documents, that will make the facts of Verres' conduct clear to everyone. There are 92
official statements that the Mercury was conveyed to Messana at the public expense; they will tell you what that expense was, and that one Poleas was officially appointed to see to this business. And where is Poleas? here in court, as a witness.

est, testis est. Proagori Sopatri iussu. Quis est hic? Qui ad statuam adstrictus est. Quid? is ubi est? Vidistis hominem et verba eius audistis. Demoliendum curavit Demetrius gymnasiarchus, quod is ei loco praeerat. Quid? hoc nos dicimus? Immo vero ipse praesens. Romae nuper ipsum istum esse pollicitum sese id signum legatis redditurum si eius rei testificatio tolleretur cautumque esset eos testimonium non esse dicturos—dixit hoc apud vos Zosippus, et Ismenias, homines nobilissimi et principes Tyndaritanae civitatis.

93 XLIII. Quid? Agrigento nonne eiusdem P. Scipionis monumentum, signum Apollinis pulcherrimum, cuius in femore litteris minutis argenteis nomen Myronis erat inscriptum, ex Aesculapii religiosissimo fano sustulisti? Quod quidem, iudices, cum iste clam fecisset, cum ad suum scelus illud furtumque nefarium quosdam homines improbos duces atque adiutores adhibuisset, vehementer commota civitas est. Uno enim tempore Agrigentini beneficium Africani, religionem domesticam, ornamentum urbis, indicium victoriae, testimonium societatis requirebant. Itaque ab iis qui principes in ea civitate erant praecipitur et negotium datur quaestoribus et aedilibus ut noctu vigilias agerent ad aedes sacras. Etenim iste Agrigenti (credo propter multitudinem illorum hominum atque virtutem, et quod cives Romani, viri fortes atque honesti, permulti in illo oppido coniunc-

Further, that this was done by order of their president Sopater. Who is Sopater? the man who was tied to the statue. And where is he? You have seen him, and heard his statement. The demolition of the statue was seen to by the keeper of the gymnasium, Demetrius, who was responsible for the place where it stood. And is it I who say so? On the contrary, Demetrius himself is here and says so. That not long ago, here in Rome, Verres himself promised to return the statue to the town's representatives if the written evidence about the affair were withdrawn and a guarantee given that they would not appear as witnesses—that this is so you have heard from Zosippus, and also from Ismenias, men of high rank and political importance at Tyndaris.

XLIII. I charge you next with the robbery, from 93
the much-venerated temple of Aesculapius at Agrigentum, of another memorial of Scipio, a beautiful statue of Apollo, on whose thigh was inscribed the name of Myron in small silver letters. This, gentlemen, he did by stealth, after securing a number of villains to direct and assist him in this impious and abominable theft. The community was grievously distressed: they felt the loss of so many things at once—Scipio's benefaction, their own religious peace of mind, their city's art treasure, the record of our victory, the evidence for their alliance with Rome. Their chief civic authorities in consequence charged their treasurers and police-officers with the duty of maintaining a watch by night over their sacred edifices. The fact is that at Agrigentum—no doubt because the people of the town are numerous and stout-hearted, and also because a large number of excellent and respected Roman citizens live and carry

tissimo animo cum ipsis Agrigentinis vivunt ac negotiantur) non audebat palam poscere aut tollere

94 quae placebant. Herculis templum est apud Agrigentinos non longe a foro, sane sanctum apud illos et religiosum. Ibi est ex aere simulacrum ipsius Herculis, quo non facile dixerim quicquam me vidisse pulchrius—tametsi non tam multum in istis rebus intellego quam multa vidi—usque eo, iudices, ut rictum eius ac mentum paulo sit attritius, quod in precibus et gratulationibus non solum id venerari verum etiam osculari solent. Ad hoc templum, cum esset iste Agrigenti, duce Timarchide repente nocte intempesta servorum armatorum fit concursus atque impetus. Clamor a vigilibus fanique custodibus tollitur; qui primo cum obsistere ac defendere conarentur, male mulcati clavis ac fustibus repelluntur. Postea convulsis repagulis effractisque valvis demoliri signum ac vectibus labefactare conantur. Interea ex clamore fama tota urbe percrebruit expugnari deos patrios, non hostium adventu necopinato neque repentino praedonum impetu, sed ex domo atque ex cohorte praetoria manum fugitivorum instructam

95 armatamque venisse. Nemo Agrigenti neque aetate tam affecta neque viribus tam infirmis fuit qui non illa nocte eo nuntio excitatus surrexerit, telumque quod cuique fors offerebat arripuerit. Itaque brevi tempore ad fanum ex urbe tota concurritur. Horam

on business in the town, maintaining the most friendly relations with the townsfolk themselves—Verres did not dare to demand or remove openly the objects that took his fancy. Now not far from the 94
market-place of Agrigentum there is a temple of Hercules which they regard with much awe and reverence. In this temple there is a bronze image of Hercules himself: I do not know that I have ever seen a lovelier work of art—not that my understanding of such things is equal to the number of them I have seen; but it is so lovely, gentlemen, that its mouth and chin are quite noticeably rubbed from the way in which people, when praying or offering thanks, not only do reverence to it but actually kiss it. A body of armed slaves, led by Timarchides, suddenly descended upon this temple late one night when Verres was staying in the town. The watchmen and temple guards raised the alarm, and at first did their best to resist and repel the attack, but were savagely knocked about with clubs and cudgels, and in the end beaten off. Then the bolts were wrenched off and the doors broken open, and they tried to loosen the statue and lever it off its pedestal with crowbars. Meanwhile the shouts of alarm had informed the whole town that an assault was being made on their ancestral gods: no unforeseen invasion by an enemy or surprise attack by pirates—a company of armed and equipped gaol-birds taken from the governor's staff had come there from the governor's house. There was not a man in Agrigentum that night so 95
old or infirm that he did not get out of his bed, when this news aroused him, and lay hold of the first weapon that came to hand; so that in a short time there was a rush to the temple from all parts of the

amplius iam in demoliendo signo permulti homines moliebantur; illud interea nulla lababat ex parte, cum alii vectibus subiectis conarentur commovere, alii deligatum omnibus membris rapere ad se funibus. Ac repente Agrigentini concurrunt; fit magna lapidatio; dant sese in fugam istius praeclari imperatoris nocturni milites. Duo tamen sigilla perparvula tollunt, ne omnino inanes ad istum praedonem religionum revertantur. Numquam tam male est Siculis quin aliquid facete et commode dicant, velut in hac re aiebant in labores Herculis non minus hunc immanissimum verrem quam illum aprum Erymanthium referri oportere.

96 XLIV. Hanc virtutem Agrigentinorum imitati sunt Assorini postea, viri fortes et fideles, sed nequaquam ex tam ampla neque tam ex nobili civitate. Chrysas est amnis qui per Assorinorum agros fluit; is apud illos habetur deus et religione maxima colitur. Fanum eius est in agro, propter ipsam viam qua Assoro itur Hennam. In eo Chrysae simulacrum est praeclare factum e marmore. Id iste poscere Assorinos propter singularem eius fani religionem non ausus est; Tlepolemo dat et Hieroni negotium. Illi noctu facta manu armataque veniunt, fores aedis effringunt. Aeditumi custodesque mature sentiunt; signum quod erat notum vicinitati bucina datur; homines ex agris

town. Already for more than an hour a crowd of fellows had been trying hard to get the statue off its pedestal, without its coming loose anywhere for all their efforts, though some tried to lever it up from below, and others to drag it forward with ropes tied to its arms and legs. Then suddenly the townsfolk in a body went for them with a great shower of stones, and the nocturnal troops of our eminent commander took to their heels and fled. However, they carried off a couple of small statuettes, so as not to report back to this sacrilegious pirate quite empty-handed. Sicilians are always ready with some appropriate jest, even under the most trying circumstances; thus on the present occasion they observed that this monstrous hog ought to be counted among the labours of Hercules quite as much as the celebrated Erymanthian boar.

XLIV. The plucky behaviour of these Agrigentines was subsequently copied by the people of Assorus; 96
stout trustworthy folk, though they belong to a much smaller and obscurer community. Through their land flows the river Chrysas, regarded by them as a god and worshipped with much reverence. His temple, which is in the open country close to the road from Assorus to Henna, contains a statue of him, a beautiful work in marble. Owing to the exceptional sanctity of the temple, Verres dared not demand this statue of the people of Assorus, but put the matter into the hands of Tlepolemus and Hiero, who collected and armed a band of men, went one night to the temple, and broke open the doors. The keepers and guards of the temple had timely warning of their coming; a signal well known to the neighbourhood was sounded on a cow-horn; a crowd

concurrunt; eicitur fugaturque Tlepolemus; neque quicquam ex fano Chrysae praeter unum perparvulum signum ex aere desideratum est.

97 Matris Magnae fanum apud Enguinos est. (Iam enim mihi non modo breviter de uno quoque dicendum, sed etiam praetereunda videntur esse permulta, ut ad maiora istius et illustriora in hoc genere furta et scelera veniamus.) In hoc fano loricas galeasque aeneas, caelatas opere Corinthio, hydriasque grandes simili in genere atque eadem arte perfectas idem ille Scipio, vir omnibus rebus praecellentissimus, posuerat et suum nomen inscripserat. Quid iam de isto plura dicam aut querar? Omnia illa, iudices, abstulit, nihil in religiosissimo fano praeter vestigia violatae religionis nomenque P. Scipionis reliquit; hostium spolia, monumenta imperatorum, decora atque ornamenta fanorum posthac his praeclaris nominibus amissis in instrumento atque in supellectile C. Verris nomina-
98 buntur. Tu videlicet solus vasis Corinthiis delectaris, tu illius aeris temperationem, tu operum liniamenta sollertissime perspicis; haec Scipio ille non intellegebat, homo doctissimus atque humanissimus, tu sine ulla bona arte, sine humanitate, sine ingenio, sine litteris, intellegis et iudicas! Vide ne ille non solum temperantia sed etiam intellegentia te atque istos

[a] Scipio's inscription, which Verres left behind, formed part if not all of the "traces" of the robbery.

gathered from the surrounding farms, and Tlepolemus was ejected and put to flight, with the result that nothing was found missing from the temple of Chrysas, except one small statue of bronze.

Near Engyion there is a sanctuary of the Great 97
Mother. (I must now deal with these several cases briefly, and indeed pass over a great many of them altogether, so that we may get on to the more important and notorious of such of the man's acts of theft and sacrilege as we are now considering.) In this sanctuary there were breastplates and helmets of Corinthian chased bronze, and some large waterpots, of the same type and wrought in the same beautiful style, which the great Scipio of whom we have been speaking, that model of all human excellence, placed there, with an inscription containing his own name. I will make no long tale of the sad fate of these treasures. Verres carried them all off, gentlemen; he left nothing behind in that holy sanctuary save the traces of this sacrilegious outrage and the name of Scipio.[a] Those spoils taken from our foes, those memorials of our great commander, those ornaments that adorned that holy place, shall no longer be described thus nobly, but only as items in the household furniture of Gaius Verres.—It would 98
appear that you are the one person to whom Corinthian bronzes can appeal, and who has an expert's appreciation of the fine temper of the metal and the craftsmanship of the design; that an educated and cultivated man like Scipio had no understanding of such things, whereas an utter savage like yourself, uncivilized and stupid and illiterate, can understand and appreciate them. Ask yourself if Scipio was not superior, in understanding as well as in temper, to

qui se elegantes dici volunt vicerit. Nam quia quam pulchra essent intellegebat, idcirco existimabat ea non ad hominum luxuriem, sed ad ornatum fanorum atque oppidorum esse facta, ut posteris monumenta religiosa esse videantur.[1]

99 XLV. Audite etiam singularem eius, iudices, cupiditatem, audaciam, amentiam, in iis praesertim sacris polluendis quae non modo manibus attingi sed ne cogitatione quidem violari fas fuit. Sacrarium Cereri est apud Catinenses eadem religione qua Romae, qua in ceteris locis, qua prope in toto orbe terrarum. In eo sacrario intimo signum fuit Cereris perantiquum, quod viri non modo cuius modi esset sed ne esse quidem sciebant; aditus enim in id sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres ac virgines confici solent. Hoc signum noctu clam istius servi ex illo religiosissimo atque antiquissimo loco sustulerunt. Postridie sacerdotes Cereris atque illius fani antistitae maiores natu, probatae ac nobiles mulieres, rem ad magistratus suos deferunt. Omnibus acerbum, indi-
100 gnum, luctuosum denique videbatur. Tum iste permotus illa atrocitate negotii, ut ab se sceleris illius suspicio demoveretur, dat hospiti suo cuidam negotium ut aliquem reperiret quem illud fecisse insimularet, daretque operam ut is eo crimine damnaretur, ne ipse esset in crimine. Res non procrastinatur. Nam cum iste Catina profectus esset, servi cuiusdam

[1] ut posteris nostris monumenta . . . videantur *all MSS.*: *editors agree in thinking the clause interpolated or corrupt.*

you and to those friends of yours who aspire to be considered men of taste. He did understand how beautiful those things were, and for that very reason regarded them as meant not for the luxurious enjoyment of individuals, but for the adornment of temples and cities, and to be hallowed memorials in the sight of future generations.

XLV. Let me now tell you, gentlemen, of an out- 99
standing instance of the man's insane and unscrupulous greed, whereby he chose to defile those holy things which it is a sin not merely to lay one's hands upon but even to desecrate in thought. At Catina there is a shrine of Ceres that is reverenced no less than such shrines at Rome, in other lands, almost throughout the world. In its innermost chamber was a very ancient statue of Ceres, the appearance and indeed the existence of which was unknown to men, since men are not allowed to enter the shrine, and the sacred rites are regularly performed by women and girls. This statue was stolen one night from this ancient and hallowed place by Verres' slaves. Next day the theft was reported to the local magistrates by the priestesses of Ceres and the elderly women of high birth and character who were in charge of this sanctury; the news was received by all with grief, indignation, and mourning. Alarmed by the very 100
wickedness of this impious act, and hoping to divert suspicion from himself, Verres instructed a man with whom he had been staying to find somebody whom he could accuse of having done it, and to see that this person was found guilty when charged with it, so that Verres might not be charged with it himself. His wishes were promptly carried out; after he had left Catina, information was laid against a certain

nomen defertur; is accusatur, ficti testes in eum dantur. Rem cunctus senatus Catinensium legibus iudicabat. Sacerdotes vocantur; ex iis quaeritur secreto in curia quid esse factum arbitrarentur, quem ad modum signum esset ablatum. Respondent illae praetoris in eo loco servos esse visos. Res, quae esset iam antea non obscura, sacerdotum testimonio perspicua esse coepit. Itur in consilium; servus ille innocens omnibus sententiis absolvitur, quo facilius vos hunc omnibus sententiis condemnare possitis.
101 Quid enim postulas, Verres? quid speras, quid exspectas, quem tibi aut deum aut hominem auxilio futurum putas? Eone tu servos ad spoliandum fanum immittere ausus es quo liberos adire ne ornandi[1] quidem causa fas erat? iisne rebus manus afferre non dubitasti a quibus etiam oculos cohibere te religionum iura cogebant? Tametsi ne oculis quidem captus in hanc fraudem tam sceleratam ac tam nefariam decidisti; nam id concupisti quod numquam videras, id, inquam, adamasti quod antea non aspexeras; auribus tu tantam cupiditatem concepisti, ut eam non metus, non religio, non deorum
102 vis, non hominum existimatio contineret. At ex bono viro, credo, audieras et bono auctore. Qui id potes, qui ne ex viro quidem audire potueris? Audisti igitur ex muliere, quoniam id viri nec vidisse neque nosse poterant. Qualem porro illam feminam fuisse

[1] ornandi *Peterson, with the best MSS.*: orandi *most editors, with the worse.*

slave, who was prosecuted, witnesses being secured to swear falsely to his guilt. The trial was held before the whole senate of Catina, in accordance with the law of that state. The priestesses were summoned and privately examined by the court. Asked what they believed had happened, and how the statue had been stolen, they replied that slaves of the governor's had been seen about the place. Even before that, there had been little doubt what the truth of the matter was, and the priestesses' evidence made it quite plain. The court considered its verdict, and the innocent slave was unanimously acquitted—to make it all the easier for you to be unanimous in finding the
man now before you guilty.—Why, what would you 101
have, Verres? what do you hope or look for? on what help can you count from god or man? You dared to send slaves to rob of its treasures a sanctuary that it is sin for free men to enter even to add to its treasures? you shrank not from laying your hands upon those holy things from which the laws of religion bade you even avert your eyes? Though indeed it was not even the lust of the eye that made you plunge into this foul and impious crime: you desired a thing you had never seen—yes, you conceived a passion for what your eyes had not yet beheld; it was your ears that begot in you a greed so fierce that neither fear nor scruple, neither the power of the gods nor the censure
of men could stay its course. Well, well, no doubt 102
you heard of it from some honest man who could tell you the honest truth about it. And how can that be, when you could not have heard of it from any man at all? It follows that you heard of it from a woman, since the men could neither have seen it nor known of it.—Well then, gentlemen, what sort of woman

putatis, iudices, quam pudicam, quae cum Verre loqueretur, quam religiosam, quae sacrarii spoliandi rationem ostenderet? Ac minime mirum, quae sacra per summam castimoniam virorum ac mulierum fiant, eadem per istius stuprum ac flagitium esse violata.

XLVI. Quid ergo? hoc solum auditione expetere coepit, cum id ipse non vidisset? Immo vero alia complura; ex quibus eligam spoliationem nobilissimi atque antiquissimi fani, de qua priore actione testes dicere audistis. Nunc eadem illa, quaeso, audite, et diligenter, sicut adhuc fecistis, attendite.

103 Insula est Melita, iudices, satis lato a Sicilia mari periculosoque diiuncta; in qua est eodem nomine oppidum, quo iste numquam accessit, quod tamen isti textrinum per triennium ad muliebrem vestem conficiendam fuit. Ab eo oppido non longe in promunturio fanum est Iunonis antiquum, quod tanta religione semper fuit ut non modo illis Punicis bellis quae in his fere locis navali copia gesta atque versata sunt, sed etiam hac praedonum multitudine semper inviolatum sanctumque fuerit. Quin etiam hoc memoriae proditum est, classe quondam Masinissae regis ad eum locum appulsa praefectum regium dentes eburneos incredibili magnitudine e fano sustulisse et eos in Africam portasse Masinissaeque donasse. Regem primo delectatum esse munere; post, ubi

do you take her to have been? a modest woman, if she engaged in conversation with Verres, and a god-fearing woman, if she showed him how to rob the sanctuary! After all, it is not strange that the sacred things whose worship involved the utmost purity on the part of men and women should have been desecrated by means of the unclean lust of Verres.

XLVI. And was this statue the only thing for which his desire was kindled by hearing of it without having seen it himself? Far from it. There were many other such cases, out of which I will select for mention that robbery of a most famous and ancient sanctuary about which you heard evidence given in the first part of this trial. Let me, if you please, tell you the story again, and give me the careful attention that you have given me hitherto.

The island of Melita, gentlemen, is separated from 103
Sicily by a rather wide and dangerous stretch of sea. In it there is a town, also called Melita, which Verres never visited, but which none the less he turned for three years into a factory for the weaving of women's dresses. On a headland not far from the town stands an ancient temple of Juno, which has ever been held in such reverence that its sanctity has not once been violated not only in the old days of the Punic Wars, the naval operations of which took place in and around this region, but even by the pirate hordes of our own days. Nay, there is also the story of how King Masinissa's fleet once put in there, and the king's admiral carried off from the shrine certain ivory tusks of astonishing size, conveyed them to Africa, and presented them to Masinissa. At first, the king was delighted with the gift; but presently,

audisset unde essent, statim certos homines in quin-
queremi misisse qui eos dentes reponerent. Itaque
in iis scriptum litteris Punicis fuit regem Masinissam
imprudentem accepisse, re cognita reportandos re-
ponendosque curasse. Erat praeterea magna vis
eboris, multa ornamenta, in quibus eburneae Vic-
104 toriae antiquo opere ac summa arte perfectae. Haec
iste omnia, ne multis morer, uno impetu atque uno
nuntio per servos Venerios, quos eius rei causa miserat,
tollenda atque asportanda curavit.

XLVII. Pro di immortales, quem ego hominem
accuso? quem legibus aut iudiciali iure persequor?
de quo vos sententiam per tabellam feretis? Dicunt
legati Melitenses publice spoliatum templum esse
Iunonis, nihil istum in religiosissimo fano reliquisse;
quem in locum classes hostium saepe accesserint, ubi
piratae fere quotannis hiemare soleant, quod neque
praedo violarit antea neque umquam hostis attigerit,
id ab uno isto sic spoliatum esse ut nihil omnino sit
relictum. Hic nunc iste reus, aut ego accusator,
aut hoc iudicium appellabitur? Criminibus enim
coarguitur aut suspicionibus in iudicium vocatur?
Di ablati, fana vexata, nudatae urbes reperiuntur;
earum autem rerum nullam sibi iste neque infitiandi

when he was told where they came from, he dis-
patched a chosen body of men in a large warship to
restore the tusks to their place; and upon the tusks
was engraved an inscription in Punic characters, re-
cording how king Masinissa had received them un-
wittingly, and on learning the truth had caused them
to be brought back and put in their place again.
Besides these tusks there was a great quantity of
other ivory, and many objects of art, including some
ivory figures of Victory, of ancient and exquisite
workmanship. Well, to omit details, one attempt, 104
one message was enough for Verres' purpose: by
means of temple slaves dispatched for the purpose,
he had every one of these treasures removed and
carried away.

XLVII. In God's name, what manner of man am I
prosecuting? against whom am I invoking the laws,
and the rights this Court should uphold? concerning
whom are you, gentlemen, to record your verdicts?
The representatives of the people of Melita state
officially that the temple of Juno has been robbed,
that Verres has left nothing behind in that most holy
sanctuary; that the place where our enemies have
often landed and the pirates are in the habit of
passing winter after winter, without any pirate's ever
desecrating it or any enemy's laying hands upon it—
this place has now been so thoroughly robbed by
Verres that nothing at all has been left there. Is this
man a defendant, am I a prosecutor, is this a trial, in
any fair sense of the words? Is this man brought to
trial on charges supported by argument and inference?
We find the gods' images stolen, their sanctuaries
plundered, whole cities stripped to the skin; of all
these deeds Verres has not left himself either grounds

rationem neque defendendi facultatem reliquit; omnibus in rebus coarguitur a me, convincitur a testibus, urgetur confessione sua, manifestis in maleficiis tenetur—et manet etiam, ac tacitus facta mecum sua recognoscit.

105 Nimium mihi diu videor in uno genere versari criminum; sentio, iudices, occurrendum esse satietati aurium animorumque vestrorum. Quam ob rem multa praetermittam; ad ea autem quae dicturus sum reficite vos, quaeso, iudices, per deos immortales, eos ipsos de quorum religione iam diu dicimus, dum id eius facinus commemoro et profero quo provincia tota commota est. De quo si paulo altius ordiri ac repetere memoriam religionis videbor, ignoscite; rei magnitudo me breviter perstringere atrocitatem criminis non sinit.

106 XLVIII. Vetus est haec opinio, iudices, quae constat ex antiquissimis Graecorum litteris ac monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae consecratam. Hoc cum ceterae gentes sic arbitrantur, tum ipsis Siculis ita persuasum est ut in animis eorum insitum atque innatum esse videatur. Nam et natas esse has in iis locis deas et fruges in ea terra primum repertas esse arbitrantur, et raptam esse Liberam, quam eandem Proserpinam vocant, ex Hennensium nemore, qui locus, quod in media est insula situs, umbilicus Siciliae nominatur. Quam cum investigare et conquirere Ceres vellet, dicitur inflammasse taedas

for denying or means of justifying a single one; his guilt is demonstrated throughout by my words as prosecutor, by the evidence of witnesses, by his own damaging admissions; from the certainty of his malpractices there is no possible escape. And yet he stands his ground and silently joins me in my review of his behaviour!

I feel, gentlemen, that I have too long been engaged with charges of one type, and perceive that I must beware of surfeiting your ears and minds therewith. I shall therefore pass over many of them; but there is more that I do mean to tell you, to which I implore your renewed attention, gentlemen, in the name of the ever-living gods, the gods of whose solemn claims upon us I have so long been speaking, while I put before you the tale of one deed wrought by Verres that stirred the whole province profoundly. And if I shall seem to begin this tale too far back, and to go too deeply into the religious history involved, forgive me: the importance of the affair forbids my handling with superficial haste so horrible a charge. 105

XLVIII. It is an ancient belief, gentlemen, established by the oldest Greek books and inscriptions, that the island of Sicily as a whole is sacred to Ceres and Libera. This belief is held by other peoples as well; and the Sicilians themselves are so sure of it that it seems implanted in their minds by nature herself. They hold that these goddesses were born in Sicily: that corn was first brought to light in Sicilian soil; and that Libera, whom they also call Proserpina, was carried off from a wood near Henna, a place which, lying in the midst of the island, is known as the navel of Sicily. Ceres, the tale goes, in her eager search for traces of her lost daughter, lighted her torches at 106

iis ignibus qui ex Aetnae vertice erumpunt; quas sibi cum ipsa praeferret orbem omnem peragrasse ter-
107 rarum. Henna autem, ubi ea quae dico gesta esse memorantur, est loco perexcelso atque edito, quo in summo est aequata agri planities et aquae perennes, tota vero ab omni aditu circumcisa atque directa est; quam circa lacus lucique sunt plurimi atque laetissimi flores omni tempore anni, locus ut ipse raptum illum virginis quem iam a pueris accepimus declarare videatur. Etenim prope est spelunca quaedam conversa ad aquilonem, infinita altitudine, qua Ditem patrem ferunt repente cum curru exstitisse, abreptamque ex eo loco virginem secum asportasse, et subito non longe a Syracusis penetrasse sub terras, lacumque in eo loco repente exstitisse, ubi usque ad hoc tempus Syracusani festos dies anniversarios agunt celeberrimo virorum mulierumque conventu. XLIX. Propter huius opinionis vetustatem, quod horum in iis locis vestigia ac prope incunabula reperiuntur deorum, mira quaedam tota Sicilia privatim ac publice religio est Cereris Hennensis. Etenim multa saepe prodigia vim eius numenque declararunt; multis saepe in difficillimis rebus praesens auxilium eius oblatum est, ut haec insula ab ea non solum
108 diligi sed etiam incoli custodirique videatur. Nec solum Siculi, verum etiam ceterae gentes nationesque Hennensem Cererem maxime colunt. Etenim si Atheniensium sacra summa cupiditate expetuntur, ad quos Ceres in illo errore venisse dicitur frugesque

[a] The Eleusinian mysteries, at which Demeter and Kore (Persephone) were worshipped. Athenian tradition made Eleusis the birthplace of corn.

the fires that burst forth from the peak of Aetna, and roamed over all the earth carrying these in her hands. Henna, the traditional scene of the event I 107
speak of, is built on a lofty eminence, the top of which is a table-land, watered by perennial springs, and bounded in every direction by precipitous cliffs, round which are numerous lakes and copses, and flowers in profusion at all seasons: one feels that the landscape of itself confirms the story, familiar to us from childhood, of how the maiden was carried off. There is indeed in the neighbourhood, facing north, a bottomless cave, from which, we are told, father Dis suddenly issued in his chariot; he seized the maiden, carried her away thence with him, and suddenly, not far from Syracuse, plunged underground; at this latter place, all in a moment, a lake appeared, near which the Syracusans to this very day hold an annual festival that is attended by crowds of men and women. XLIX. The antiquity of this belief that finds in these spots the footprints, one might almost say the cradle, of those divine persons, has engendered throughout Sicily, in individuals and communities, a devotion to Ceres of Henna that is quite astonishing. And indeed, numerous portents give continual testimony to her power and presence; numerous persons in distressing circumstances have continually been vouchsafed her prompt succour; so that men think of her not only as caring for the island but as dwelling in it and guarding it in person. Nor is it the Sicilians only, but other races and peoples 108
too, that have this deep reverence for Ceres of Henna. And if men are eager to take part in the sacred rites[a] of the Athenians, whom Ceres is said to have visited in the course of her wanderings, bringing them the

attulisse, quantam esse religionem convenit eorum apud quos eam natam esse et fruges invenisse constat? Itaque apud patres nostros atroci ac difficili rei publicae tempore, cum Tiberio Graccho occiso magnorum periculorum metus ex ostentis portenderetur, P. Mucio L. Calpurnio consulibus aditum est ad libros Sibyllinos; ex quibus inventum est Cererem antiquissimam placari oportere. Tum ex amplissimo collegio decemvirali sacerdotes populi Romani, cum esset in urbe nostra Cereris pulcherrimum et magnificentissimum templum, tamen usque Hennam profecti sunt. Tanta erat enim auctoritas et vetustas illius religionis ut, cum illuc irent, non ad aedem Cereris sed ad ipsam Cererem proficisci viderentur.

109 Non obtundam diutius; etenim iam dudum vereor ne oratio mea aliena ab iudiciorum ratione et a cotidiana dicendi consuetudine esse videatur. Hoc dico, hanc ipsam Cererem antiquissimam, religiosissimam, principem omnium sacrorum quae apud omnes gentes nationesque fiunt, a C. Verre ex suis templis ac sedibus esse sublatam. Qui accessistis Hennam vidistis simulacrum Cereris e marmore, et in altero templo Liberae. Sunt ea perampla atque praeclara, sed non ita antiqua. Ex aere fuit quoddam modica amplitudine ac singulari opere cum facibus perantiquum, omnium illorum quae sunt in eo fano multo antiquissimum. Id sustulit; ac tamen eo contentus
110 non fuit. Ante aedem Cereris in aperto ac propatulo

[a] 143 B.C.
[b] The *decemviri sacris faciundis*, "Commissioners of Public Worship."

gift of corn, think how great her sanctity must be in the eyes of the people among whom she was born and devised that gift originally. We can thus understand what befell in our fathers' days. In the consulship[a] of Publius Mucius and Lucius Calpurnius a terrible political crisis had arisen: Tiberius Gracchus had been slain, and prodigies indicated that fearful dangers were threatening us. The Sibylline Books were consulted; and from them it was discovered that "the most ancient Ceres" must be placated. Thereupon, although there was a splendid and beautiful temple of Ceres here in our own city, yet priests of the Roman state, members of the distinguished body of Decemvirs,[b] left Rome to go all the way to Henna: so ancient, so awe-inspiring was that cult, that they were felt, in going thither, to be making their way not to a temple of Ceres but to the presence of Ceres herself.

I will weary you no further with this description; 109
for some time I have had an uneasy feeling that you may think it unsuited to a court of law and to the style in which advocates are accustomed to plead. My charge is this: That this very Ceres, the most ancient and sacred of all, the fountain-head of all the cults of the goddess among all nations and peoples, was stolen by Gaius Verres from her own temple and her own home. Those of you who have visited Henna have seen the marble image of Ceres, and that of Libera in the other shrine. These are works of great size and notable beauty, but not so very old. But there was a bronze one, of moderate size and unique workmanship, in which the torches were shown; this was very old—far the oldest, indeed, of all the treasures in this sanctuary. This Verres stole—and was not satisfied even with taking this. In a wide open space 110

loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi, pulcherrima ac perampla. Pulchritudo periculo, amplitudo saluti fuit, quod eorum demolitio atque asportatio perdifficilis videbatur. Insistebat in manu Cereris dextra grande simulacrum pulcherrime factum Victoriae; hoc iste e signo Cereris avellendum asportandumque curavit.

L. Qui tandem istius animus est nunc in recordatione scelerum suorum, cum ego ipse in commemoratione eorum non solum animo commovear verum etiam corpore perhorrescam? Venit enim mihi fani, loci, religionis illius in mentem; versantur ante oculos omnia, dies ille quo, cum ego Hennam venissem, praesto mihi sacerdotes Cereris cum infulis ac verbenis fuerunt, contio conventusque civium, in quo ego cum loquerer tanti gemitus fletusque fiebant ut
111 acerbissimus tota urbe luctus versari videretur. Non illi decumarum imperia, non bonorum direptiones, non iniqua iudicia, non importunas istius libidines, non vim, non contumelias, quibus vexati oppressique erant, conquerebantur; Cereris numen, sacrorum vetustatem, fani religionem istius sceleratissimi atque audacissimi supplicio expiari volebant; omnia se cetera pati ac neglegere dicebant. Hic dolor erat tantus, ut[1] alter Orcus venisse Hennam et non Proserpinam asportasse sed ipsam abripuisse Cererem

[1] ut Verres alter Orcus *MSS.*

[a] An Attic deity of agriculture, whose worship, with that of Demeter and Kore, had doubtless been brought from central Greece to Sicily.

[b] The regular insignia of suppliants among the Greeks.

before the shrine of Ceres there are two statues, one of Ceres and the other of Triptolemus,[a] both of great size, and very beautiful. Their beauty endangered them, but their size saved them; their demolition and removal seemed likely to be extremely difficult. But in the right hand of the Ceres there stood a large and exquisite statuette of Victory; and this Verres caused to be wrenched away from the statue of Ceres and carried off.

L. And now I ask, what feelings must be aroused in this man by the recollection of his impious deeds, when I myself, who do but tell of them, am not only perturbed in spirit, but feel my very body shake and tremble? I think of that sanctuary, that sacred spot, that solemn worship: before my eyes rises the picture of the day when I visited Henna, my reception by the priests of Ceres wearing their fillets and carrying their sacred boughs,[b] my address to the assembled townsfolk, in which my words were heard amid such groans and weeping as showed the whole town to be a prey to the bitterest distress. It was 111
not the cruel exaction of tithes, not the plundering of their goods, not the injustice of the courts, not this man's acts of savage lust, not his violence and his insolent outrages, of which these crushed and tormented folk now complained: it was the sin against the holiness of Ceres, against her ancient worship and venerated sanctuary, that they would see atoned for by the punishment of this utterly unscrupulous and wicked man: all else, they said, they were ready to endure without resentment. So extreme was their distress that one might fancy that the king of the shades had come to Henna once more, and not abducted Proserpina but carried Ceres herself away.

videretur. Etenim urbs illa non urbs videtur sed fanum Cereris esse; habitare apud sese Cererem Hennenses arbitrantur, ut mihi non cives illius civitatis, sed omnes sacerdotes, omnes accolae atque
112 antistites Cereris esse videantur. Henna tu simulacrum Cereris tollere audebas, Henna tu de manu Cereris Victoriam eripere et deam deae detrahere conatus es? quorum nihil violare, nihil attingere ausi sunt in quibus erant omnia quae sceleri propiora sunt quam religioni. Tenuerunt enim P. Popilio P. Rupilio consulibus illum locum servi, fugitivi, barbari, hostes; sed neque tam servi illi dominorum quam tu libidinum neque tam fugitivi illi ab dominis quam tu ab iure et ab legibus, neque tam barbari lingua et natione illi quam tu natura et moribus, neque tam illi hostes hominibus quam tu dis immortalibus. Quae deprecatio est igitur ei reliqua qui indignitate servos, temeritate fugitivos, scelere barbaros, crudelitate hostes vicerit?

113 LI. Audistis Theodorum et Numenium et Nicasionem, legatos Hennenses, publice dicere sese a suis civibus haec habere mandata, ut ad Verrem adirent et eum simulacrum Cereris et Victoriae reposcerent; id si impetrassent, tum ut morem veterem Hennensium conservarent, publice in eum, tametsi vexasset Siciliam, tamen, quoniam haec a maioribus instituta accepissent, testimonium ne quod dicerent; sin

[a] 132 B.C. The revolted slaves held out in Henna, besieged by Roman troops, for some two years.

For indeed the town of Henna is thought of as no mere town, but as Ceres' sanctuary: its people believe that Ceres dwells in their midst, and I therefore think of them not as the citizens of a city, but all of them as the priests, all of them as the servants and ministers of Ceres.—And it was from Henna that 112
you dared to remove the image of Ceres? at Henna that you went about to pluck Victory from Ceres' hand, robbing one goddess of another goddess? And this although men whose every tendency was to impiety rather than religion shrank from desecrating, nay, from touching, these holy things. In the consulship of Publius Popilius and Publius Rupilius,[a] the place was in the hands of slaves—deserters, savages, public enemies. Yet they were less the slaves of their masters than you the slave of your lusts; less deserters from their masters than you from what is just and legal; less savages by birth and speech than you by disposition and character; less the enemies of mankind than you of the gods in heaven. —What plea for mercy, then, is left for a man, more degraded than a slave, more reckless than a deserter, more impious than a savage, more cruel than an enemy in war?

LI. Gentlemen, you have heard the statement of 113
Theodorus, Numenius and Nicasio, the representatives of Henna, about the instructions officially given them by their fellow-citizens. They were to approach Verres and request him to restore the images of Ceres and Victory. If successful, then they were to abide by the traditional practice of the people of Henna: devastator of Sicily though Verres was, yet none the less, in accordance with the custom inherited from their forefathers, they were to give no official evi-

autem ea non reddidisset, tum ut in iudicio adessent, tum ut de eius iniuriis iudices docerent, sed maxime de religione quererentur. Quas illorum querimonias nolite, per deos immortales, aspernari, nolite contemnere ac neglegere, iudices. Aguntur iniuriae sociorum, agitur vis legum, agitur existimatio veritasque iudiciorum. Quae sunt omnia permagna, verum illud maximum: tanta religione obstricta tota provincia est, tanta superstitio ex istius facto mentes omnium Siculorum occupavit, ut quaecumque accidant publice privatimque incommoda propter eam causam
114 sceleris istius evenire videantur. Audistis Centuripinos, Agyrinenses, Catinenses, Aetnenses, Herbitenses compluresque alios publice dicere quae solitudo esset in agris, quae vastitas, quae fuga aratorum, quam deserta, quam inculta, quam relicta omnia. Ea tametsi multis istius et variis iniuriis acciderunt, tamen haec una causa in opinione Siculorum plurimum valet, quod Cerere violata omnis cultus fructusque Cereris in iis locis interisse arbitrantur. Medemini religioni sociorum, iudices, conservate vestram. Neque enim haec externa vobis est religio neque aliena; quodsi esset, si suscipere eam nolletis, tamen in eo qui violasset sancire vos velle
115 oporteret. Nunc vero in communi omnium gentium

dence against him. But if he would not restore the images, then they were to appear at his trial, and to inform the Court of the injuries he had done them, putting his sacrilege in the forefront of their tale of wrong. And for God's sake I beseech you not to treat this tale of wrong with contempt, not to account it a petty and negligible thing. The rights of our wronged allies, the authority of our laws, the reputation and honour of our courts, are here at stake; and these are all very great matters. But greater than all these is this, that the whole province is in the grasp of such religious terror, the minds of the whole population of Sicily are the prey of so fearful a panic, in consequence of this deed of Verres, that every public or private misfortune that befalls them is believed to come about as the result of his crime against heaven.
You have listened to the official witnesses from Cen- 114
turipa, Agyrium, Catina, Aetna, Herbita, and not a few other places, telling how the countryside is a lonely wilderness, how the farmers have fled from their farms, how the whole land has become a neglected and abandoned desert. Though this is the result of many and various wrongs done them by Verres, yet in the belief of these Sicilians the sacrilege committed against Ceres is the chief reason why all the crops and fruits of Ceres in that part of the world have come to nothing. Gentlemen, do you give back to our allies their religious peace of mind—and do you preserve your own; for indeed you have not here a religious faith that is foreign and alien to yourselves; though if it were so, and if you were unwilling to make yourselves responsible for it, you ought none the less to be ready to uphold it by punishing the man who has out-
raged it. But seeing that in fact it is a faith shared 115

religione inque iis sacris, quae maiores nostri ab exteris nationibus adscita atque arcessita coluerunt, quae sacra, ut erant re vera, sic appellari Graeca voluerunt, neglegentes ac dissoluti si cupiamus esse, qui possumus?

LII. Unius etiam urbis omnium pulcherrimae atque ornatissimae, Syracusarum, direptionem commemorabo et in medium proferam, iudices, ut aliquando totam huius generis orationem concludam atque definiam. Nemo fere vestrum est quin quem ad modum captae sint a M. Marcello Syracusae saepe audierit, non numquam etiam in annalibus legerit. Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, huius libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit captas dicetis
116 Syracusas. Ac iam illa omitto quae disperse a me multis in locis dicentur ac dicta sunt: forum Syracusanorum, quod introitu Marcelli purum a caede servatum est, id adventu Verris Siculorum innocentium sanguine redundasse: portum Syracusanorum, qui tum et nostris classibus et Carthaginiensium clausus fuisset, eum isto praetore Cilicum myoparoni praedonibusque patuisse. Mitto adhibitam vim ingenuis, matres familias violatas, quae tum in urbe capta commissa non sunt neque odio hostili neque licentia militari neque more belli neque iure victoriae;

by all peoples alike, and its rites, performed by our forefathers, were introduced and adopted by them from abroad—rites which they decreed should be called "Greek," as indeed they were: how then can we, if we would, treat them with careless indifference?

LII. There is still one city, Syracuse, the richest and fairest of all, the tale of whose plundering I will bring forward and relate to you, and thus round off and complete at last all this portion of my speech. There can hardly be any among you who has not often heard, and on occasion read in the history books, how Syracuse was captured by Marcus Marcellus. Compare, then, this time of peace with that time of war; the visits of this Roman governor with the victory of that Roman general; this man's filthy retinue with that man's invincible army; this man's self-indulgence with that man's self-control: and you will say that Syracuse was founded by the man who captured it, captured by the man who took it over a well-
ordered community. For the moment I say nothing 116
of matters with which I shall deal, or have dealt, separately in many parts of my speech: of how the market-place of Syracuse, saved from the stain of bloodshed when Marcellus entered the city as conqueror, ran red with the blood of innocent Sicilians when Verres arrived there as governor: of how the harbour of Syracuse, closed in those days against the fleets of both Rome and Carthage, was free and open, when Verres was governor, to a Cilician galley and its pirate crew. I say nothing of the rape of free-born persons and the forcing of married women, outrages not committed in these days when the city was taken, however much the passions of war-time, military licence, the custom of war and the right of the con-

mitto, inquam, haec omnia, quae ab isto per triennium perfecta sunt: ea quae coniuncta cum illis rebus sunt de quibus antea dixi cognoscite.

117 Urbem Syracusas maximam esse Graecarum, pulcherrimam omnium saepe audistis. Est, iudices, ita ut dicitur. Nam et situ est cum munito tum ex omni aditu vel terra vel mari praeclaro ad aspectum, et portus habet prope in aedificatione amplexuque urbis inclusos; qui cum diversos inter se aditus habeant, in exitu coniunguntur et confluunt. Eorum coniunctione pars oppidi quae appellatur Insula, mari disiuncta angusto, ponte rursus adiungitur et con-
118 tinetur. LIII. Ea tanta est urbs ut ex quattuor urbibus maximis constare dicatur; quarum una est ea quam dixi Insula, quae duobus portibus cincta in utriusque portus ostium aditumque proiecta est; in qua domus est quae Hieronis regis fuit, qua praetores uti solent. In ea sunt aedes sacrae complures, sed duae quae longe ceteris antecellant, Dianae, et altera, quae fuit ante istius adventum ornatissima, Minervae. In hac insula extrema est fons aquae dulcis, cui nomen Arethusa est, incredibili magnitudine, plenissimus piscium, qui fluctu totus operiretur nisi munitione ac mole lapidum diiunctus esset
119 a mari. Altera autem est urbs Syracusis cui nomen Achradina est; in qua forum maximum, pulcherrimae porticus, ornatissimum prytanium, amplissima est curia templumque egregium Iovis Olympii ceterae-

queror might provoke them. I say nothing, I repeat, of all these performances of Verres during those three years: let me tell you of such as are akin to those of which I have been speaking already.

You will often have been told that Syracuse is the largest of Greek cities and the loveliest of all cities. 117
Gentlemen, what you have been told is true. Its position is not only a strong one, but beautiful to behold in whatever direction it is approached, by land or sea. Its harbours are almost enfolded in the embrace of the city buildings, their entrances far apart, but their heads approaching till they meet each other. At their meeting-place, that part of the town which is called the Island, being cut off from the rest by a narrow strip of sea, is re-united with it by a connecting bridge. LIII. So large is the city that it is 118
described as being four great cities joined together. One of these is the Island already mentioned, girdled by the two harbours, and extending to their two mouths or entrances. In this quarter is the house, once King Hiero's, which our governors regularly occupy. Here also are a number of temples, two much finer than the rest; namely, that of Diana, and the other one that of Minerva, a place rich in treasures in the days before Verres arrived there. At one extremity of this island is the spring of fresh water called Arethusa; an incredibly large spring, teeming with fish, and so placed that it would be swamped by the sea waves but for the protection of a massive stone wall. Then there is a second town 119
in the city, called Achradina: this contains a broad market-place, some fine colonnades, a richly-adorned town-hall, a spacious senate-house, and the noble temple of Olympian Jupiter, besides the rest of the

que urbis partes, quae una via lata perpetua multisque transversis divisae privatis aedificiis continentur. Tertia est urbs quae, quod in ea parte Fortunae fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est; in qua gymnasium amplissimum est et complures aedes sacrae, coliturque ea pars et habitatur frequentissime. Quarta autem est, quae quia postrema coaedificata est, Neapolis nominatur; quam ad summam theatrum maximum, praeterea duo templa sunt egregia, Cereris unum, alterum Liberae, signumque Apollinis qui Temenites vocatur pulcherrimum et maximum; quod iste si portare potuisset, non dubitasset auferre.

120 LIV. Nunc ad Marcellum revertar, ne haec a me sine causa commemorata esse videantur. Qui cum tam praeclaram urbem vi copiisque cepisset, non putavit ad laudem populi Romani hoc pertinere, hanc pulchritudinem, ex qua praesertim periculi nihil ostenderetur, delere et exstinguere. Itaque aedificiis omnibus, publicis privatis, sacris profanis, sic pepercit quasi ad ea defendenda cum exercitu, non oppugnanda[1] venisset. In ornatu urbis habuit victoriae rationem, habuit humanitatis; victoriae putabat esse multa Romam deportare quae ornamento urbi esse possent, humanitatis non plane exspoliare urbem, praesertim quam conservare

121 voluisset. In hac partitione ornatus non plus victoria Marcelli populo Romano appetivit quam humanitas Syracusanis reservavit. Romam quae apportata sunt, ad aedem Honoris et Virtutis itemque aliis

[1] expugnanda *Mueller, with fair* MS. *support.*

town, which is filled with private houses, and divided by one broad continuous street crossed by a number of others. There is a third town, called Tycha from the ancient temple of Fortune that once stood there: this contains a spacious athletic ground and several temples, and is also a crowded and thickly inhabited part of the city. And there is a fourth town, which being the most recently built is called Neapolis: on the highest point of this stands the great theatre; besides which there are two splendid temples, one of Ceres and the other of Libera, and a large and beautiful statue of Apollo Temenites—which if Verres had been able to transport he would not have hesitated to carry off.

LIV. I will now return to Marcellus, and you will 120 see the reason for my telling you all this. Having with the help of his army attacked and captured this magnificent city, he took the view that it would not tend to the credit of Rome that he should blot out and destroy all this beauty, the more so as it threatened us with no danger. He therefore spared all its buildings, public and private, sacred and secular, as completely as if he had come with his army to defend it, instead of to assault it. In dealing with the city's treasures he did not forget either that he was a conqueror or that he was a humane man. As a conqueror, he thought it proper to remove to Rome many objects that might fitly adorn our city: as a humane man, not to strip the place completely bare, especially as he had resolved to prevent its destruction. The result 121 of his division of its treasures was that his humanity preserved at least as much for Syracuse as his conquest secured for Rome. All that was brought to Rome is to be seen near the temple of Honour and

in locis videmus. Nihil in aedibus, nihil in hortis posuit, nihil in suburbano; putavit, si urbis ornamenta domum suam non contulisset, domum suam ornamento urbi futuram. Syracusis autem permulta atque egregia reliquit; deum vero nullum violavit, nullum attigit. Conferte Verrem, non ut hominem cum homine comparetis, ne qua tali viro mortuo fiat iniuria, sed ut pacem cum bello, leges cum vi, forum et iuris dictionem cum ferro et armis, adventum et comitatum cum exercitu et victoria conferatis.

122 LV. Aedis Minervae est in Insula, de qua ante dixi; quam Marcellus non attigit, quam plenam atque ornatam reliquit; quae ab isto sic spoliata atque direpta est non ut ab hoste aliquo, qui tamen in bello religionem et consuetudinis iura retineret, sed ut a barbaris praedonibus vexata esse videatur. Pugna erat equestris Agathocli regis in tabulis picta[1]; iis autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur. Nihil erat ea pictura nobilius, nihil Syracusis quod magis visendum putaretur. Has tabulas M. Marcellus, cum omnia victoria illa sua profana fecisset, tamen religione impeditus non attigit; iste, cum illa iam propter diuturnam pacem fidelitatemque populi Syracusani sacra religiosaque accepisset, omnis eas

[1] picta praeclaris *some MSS.*: *whence some editors read* picta praeclara.

[a] Tyrant of Syracuse for a generation after the death of Alexander.

Virtue or elsewhere. He set up nothing in his mansion, in his garden, in his country-house near Rome; he felt that if he refrained from putting the city's adornments into his own home, his home would thereby become one of the city's adornments. And he left Syracuse a great number of very beautiful things, not profaning or so much as touching a single one of its gods. Compare him with Verres. I do not mean that you are to wrong our great hero's memory by comparing the two men personally: but note the difference between peace-time and war-time, the reign of law and the reign of force, the civil procedure of the courts and the sword drawn in battle, the visits of a governor with his suite and the victory of a general with his army.

LV. On the Island stands the temple of Minerva 122
that I have already mentioned. This temple, which Marcellus did not touch, which he left full of precious things, has been so thoroughly stripped and plundered by Verres that it looks as if it had been ravaged not by an enemy in war-time, who would after all have kept some respect for religion and for established custom, but by a set of piratical savages. The inner walls of the temple were covered with a set of pictures representing a cavalry engagement of king Agathocles[a]; these paintings were especially famous, and nothing at Syracuse was considered better worth going to see. Marcellus, though his victory entitled him to treat everything as unconsecrated, was stayed by religious scruples from laying hands on these paintings: Verres, though he found them transformed into sacred and holy things by the long continuance of peace and the loyalty of the Syracusan people, carried off every one of them, and left bare

tabulas abstulit, parietes, quorum ornatus tot saecula manserant, tot bella effugerant, nudos ac deformatos
23 reliquit. Et Marcellus qui, si Syracusas cepisset, duo templa se Romae dedicaturum voverat, is id quod erat aedificaturus iis rebus ornare quas ceperat noluit; Verres, qui non Honori neque Virtuti, quem ad modum ille, sed Veneri et Cupidini vota deberet, is Minervae templum spoliare conatus est. Ille deos deorum spoliis ornari noluit, hic ornamenta Minervae virginis in meretriciam domum transtulit. Viginti et septem praeterea tabulas pulcherrime pictas ex eadem aede sustulit, in quibus erant imagines Siciliae regum ac tyrannorum, quae non solum pictorum artificio delectabant, sed etiam commemoratione hominum et cognitione formarum. Ac videte quanto taetrior hic tyrannus Syracusanis fuerit quam quisquam superiorum, quia, cum[1] illi tamen ornarint templa deorum immortalium, hic etiam illorum monumenta atque ornamenta sustulit.

124 LVI. Iam vero quid ego de valvis illius templi commemorem? Vereor ne haec qui non viderunt omnia me nimis augere atque ornare arbitrentur; quod tamen nemo suspicari debet, tam esse me cupidum ut tot viros primarios velim, praesertim ex iudicum numero, qui Syracusis fuerint, qui haec viderint, esse temeritati et mendacio meo conscios. Confirmare hoc liquido, iudices, possum, valvas magnificentiores, ex auro atque ebore perfectiores, nullas umquam ullo in templo fuisse. Incredibile dictu est

[1] quia cum *Peterson*, umquam *most editors*: *MSS. vary between* quia, quam *and* cum.

and unsightly the walls whose decorations had lasted for so many centuries and escaped from so many wars.
Marcellus, the man who had vowed to dedicate two 123
temples at Rome if he captured Syracuse, shrank from adorning the building he was to erect with the treasures he had already captured: Verres, whose vows were due, not like those of Marcellus to Honour and Virtue, but to Venus and Cupid, none the less proceeded to despoil this temple of Minerva. Marcellus would not have one god robbed even to enrich another: Verres transferred the treasures of the pure virgin Minerva to a house presided over by harlots. He removed from the same temple twenty-seven other beautiful pictures, including portraits of the kings and tyrants of Sicily, the attractiveness of which lay not merely in their artistic merit, but also in the instructive record they provided of these men's personal appearance. Observe how much more hateful a tyrant of Syracuse this man was than any of his predecessors: they did, after all, adorn the temples of the gods, while this one removed even the memorials and adornments that they had given.

LVI. And now I come to speak of the doors of this 124
temple. Those who never saw them may, I fear, suspect me of unduly colouring and exaggerating all my facts: yet no one ought to suppose that my eagerness should make me willing that all those distinguished persons—especially such as are members of this Court—who have been at Syracuse, and have seen these doors, should be able to detect me in making reckless and untruthful statements. I can assert with a clear conscience, gentlemen, that more splendid doors, doors more exquisitely wrought in ivory and gold, have never existed in any temple at all. You

quam multi Graeci de harum valvarum pulchritudine scriptum reliquerint. Nimium forsitan haec illi mirentur atque efferant; esto; verum tamen honestius est rei publicae nostrae, iudices, ea quae illis pulchra esse videantur imperatorem nostrum in bello reliquisse quam praetorem in pace abstulisse. Ex ebore diligentissime perfecta argumenta erant in valvis; ea detrahenda curavit omnia. Gorgonis os pulcherrimum cinctum anguibus revellit atque abstulit, et tamen indicavit se non solum artificio sed etiam pretio quaestuque duci; nam bullas aureas omnes ex iis valvis, quae erant multae et graves, non dubitavit auferre; quarum iste non opere delectabatur sed pondere. Itaque eius modi valvas reliquit ut quae olim ad ornandum templum erant maxime nunc tantum ad claudendum factae esse videantur.

125 Etiamne gramineas hastas—vidi enim vos in hoc nomine, cum testis diceret, commoveri[1]—in quibus neque manu factum quicquam neque pulchritudo erat ulla, sed tantum magnitudo incredibilis, de qua vel audire satis esset, nimium videre plus quam semel: etiam id concupisti?

126 LVII. Nam Sappho quae sublata de prytanio est dat tibi iustam excusationem, prope ut concedendum atque ignoscendum esse videatur. Silanionis opus tam perfectum, tam elegans, tam elaboratum quisquam non modo privatus sed populus potius haberet

[1] *Here the MSS. add* quod erant eius modi ut semel vidisse satis esset, *which looks like a marginal note explaining* commoveri *from the clause that follows,* de qua vel . . . quam semel. *Peterson keeps the clause with* erat *for* erant.

[a] A sculptor of Alexander's time.

can hardly believe how many Greek writers have left us descriptions of the beauty of these doors. Perhaps they admire and extol such things unduly; well, granted that they do, still, it is more creditable to our country that what they think beautiful should have been left in their keeping by the commander of our army in war-time than that it should be taken from them by our governor in time of peace. Upon those doors were various scenes carved in ivory with the utmost care and perfection: Verres had all these removed. He wrenched off, and took away, a lovely Gorgon's face encircled with serpents. With all this, he showed that it was not only the artistic quality of these objects but their cash value that attracted him; for there were a number of massive golden knobs on these doors, all of which he carried off without hesitation; and it was not the workmanship but the weight of these that appealed to him. And thus he left those doors in such a state that, instead of serving as before chiefly to adorn the temple, they now seemed to have been made only to shut it up. Even those reed 125 spears (I noticed, gentlemen, that you were much interested by the evidence of a witness on this point), things without any art or any beauty, or anything but their incredible size—which it is quite enough merely to hear of, and more than enough to see more than once—did your greed, Verres, extend even to this?

LVII. Your theft of the Sappho in the town-hall, 126 of course, may very reasonably be defended: it almost seems an action that deserves to be allowed and overlooked. To this choice and highly-finished masterpiece of Silanion[a] what individual, what nation, even, could have a better claim than so

quam homo elegantissimus atque eruditissimus, Verres? Nimirum contra dici nihil potest. Nostrum enim unus quisque, qui tam beati quam iste est non sumus, tam delicati esse non possumus, si quando aliquid istius modi videre volet, eat ad aedem Felicitatis, ad monumentum Catuli, in porticum Metelli, det operam ut admittatur in alicuius istorum Tusculanum, spectet forum ornatum, si quid iste suorum aedilibus commodarit; Verres haec habeat domi, Verres ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum habeat plenam domum, villas refertas. Etiamne huius operarii studia ac delicias, iudices, perferetis? qui ita natus, ita educatus est, ita factus et animo et corpore, ut multo appositior ad ferenda quam ad auferenda
127 signa esse videatur. Atque haec Sappho sublata quantum desiderium sui reliquerit dici vix potest. Nam cum ipsa fuit egregie facta, tum epigramma Graecum pernobile incisum est in basi, quod iste eruditus homo et Graeculus, qui haec subtiliter iudicat, qui solus intellegit, si unam litteram Graecam scisset, certe una[1] sustulisset. Nunc enim quod scriptum est inani in basi declarat quid fuerit, et id ablatum indicat.

Quid? signum Paeanis ex aede Aesculapii praeclare factum, sacrum ac religiosum, non sustulisti? quod omnes propter pulchritudinem visere, propter religio-

[1] *MSS. read* certe non sustulisset, *which Peterson keeps. But see* § 79.

[a] The temple of Fortune vowed by the elder Catulus in the Cimbric War, 101 B.C.

[b] A votive offering of the time of the third Macedonian War.

[c] That is, of Apollo as the Healer: Asclepius was his son.

accomplished a connoisseur as Verres? Obviously, no objection can be raised to this. As for ourselves, who are not such grand people as he is, nor able to afford such luxuries, if any of us is ever disposed to have a look at something of this sort, let us go off to the temple of Good Fortune, or to that which Catulus built,[a] or to the colonnade of Metellus[b]; or let us apply for admission into the Tusculan country-house of one of the Verres set; or let us go and look at the Forum when it is decorated with what the fellow has lent the aediles from his collection: Verres is the man to own such things, Verres is to have his town-house teeming and his country-houses crammed with the treasures of cities and of temples. How much longer, gentlemen, do you mean to tolerate this hod-carrier's voluptuous tastes? a man whose birth, whose education, whose mental and physical qualities suggest that he is much better fitted to carry statues than to carry them off. Words can 127
hardly convey the bitter sense of loss that the theft of this Sappho left behind it. Itself an exceptionally fine work of art, it had a notable Greek inscription cut on its pedestal, which this learned exponent of Greek culture, with his delicate critical sense and unique appreciation of these matters, would certainly have removed along with the statue, if he had understood one word of Greek. As it is, the words written on the unoccupied pedestal tell us what once stood there, and inform us that it has been taken away.—

Next, you cannot deny having taken a fine piece of sculpture from the temple of Aesculapius, a consecrated and much revered statue of Paean,[c] universally visited for its beauty and worshipped for its

128 nem colere solebant. Quid? ex aede Liberi simulacrum Aristaei non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? Quid? ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Urion nominant, pulcherrime factum nonne abstulisti? Quid? ex aede Liberae † parinum † caput illud pulcherrimum quod visere solebamus num dubitasti tollere? Atque ille Paean sacrificiis anniversariis simul cum Aesculapio apud illos colebatur; Aristaeus, qui[1] inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum Libero patre apud illos eodem
129 erat in templo consecratus. LVIII. Iovem autem Imperatorem quanto honore in suo templo fuisse arbitramini? Conicere potestis, si recordari volueritis quanta religione fuerit eadem specie ac forma signum illud quod ex Macedonia captum in Capitolio posuerat T. Flamininus. Etenim tria ferebantur in orbe terrarum signa Iovis Imperatoris uno in genere pulcherrime facta: unum illud Macedonicum quod in Capitolio vidimus, alterum in Ponti ore et angustiis, tertium quod Syracusis ante Verrem praetorem fuit. Illud Flamininus ita ex aede sua sustulit ut in Capitolio, hoc est in terrestri domicilio
130 Iovis poneret. Quod autem est ad introitum Ponti, id, cum tam multa ex illo mari bella emerserint, tam multa porro in Pontum invecta sint, usque ad hanc diem integrum inviolatumque servatum est. Hoc tertium, quod erat Syracusis, quod M. Marcellus

[1] *After* qui *all MSS. have* ut Graeci ferunt Liberi filius: *doubtless a gloss, and generally rejected.*

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[a] Dionysus.
[b] A cult title of Zeus as giver of fair winds.
[c] Many emendations of *parinum* have been suggested, none obviously right.

sanctity. Was not an image of Aristaeus, moreover, 128
openly removed by your orders from the temple of Liber[a]? And did you not carry away from the temple of Jupiter the beautiful and deeply reverenced image of Jupiter Imperator, called Urios[b] by the Greeks? And did you hesitate to remove from the temple of Libera that lovely head of . . .[c] which we used to go there to see? Yet the Paean was worshipped by the Syracusans with annual sacrifices, together with Aesculapius; and the Aristaeus—he is said to have discovered the olive[d]—they had dedicated along with Liber his father, and in the same
temple. LVIII. As for the Jupiter Imperator, con- 129
sider how profoundly it must have been honoured in the god's own temple: you may judge of this if you will remember what intense reverence was felt for the statue, of similar shape and design, that was captured in Macedonia and placed in the Capitol by Titus Flamininus. It used to be said that there were three splendid statues of Jupiter Imperator, all of this one type, to be found in the world; the first this one from Macedonia which we now see in the Capitol, the second by the narrow strait that opens into the Black Sea, and the third this one that was at Syracuse in the days before Verres was governor. The first one Flamininus took away from its temple; but only to place it in the Capitol, Jupiter's earthly dwelling-
place. The second one, that stands at the mouth of 130
the Black Sea, has been kept safely there to this day, free from damage or profanation, despite all the waves of war that have rolled through the straits, out of that sea or into it again. This third one, which was at Syracuse, which Marcus Marcellus, with

[d] Literally "olive-oil."

armatus et victor viderat, quod religioni concesserat, quod cives atque incolae Syracusani colere, advenae non solum visere verum etiam venerari solebant, id
131 C. Verres ex templo Iovis sustulit. Ut saepius ad Marcellum revertar, iudices, sic habetote, plures esse a Syracusanis istius adventu deos quam victoria Marcelli homines desideratos. Etenim ille requisisse etiam dicitur Archimedem illum, summo ingenio hominem ac disciplina, quem cum audisset interfectum, permoleste tulisse; iste omnia quae requisivit non ut conservaret verum ut asportaret requisivit.

LIX. Iam illa quae leviora videbuntur ideo praeteribo, quod mensas Delphicas e marmore, crateras ex aere pulcherrimas, vim maximam vasorum Corinthiorum ex omnibus aedibus sacris abstulit Syracusis.
132 Itaque, iudices, ii qui hospites ad ea quae visenda sunt solent ducere et unum quidque ostendere, quos illi mystagogos vocant, conversam iam habent demonstrationem suam. Nam ut ante demonstrabant quid ubique esset, item nunc quid undique ablatum sit ostendunt.

Quid tum? mediocrine tandem dolore eos affectos esse arbitramini? Non ita est, iudices; primum quod omnes religione moventur, et deos patrios quos a maioribus acceperunt colendos sibi diligenter et retinendos esse arbitrantur; deinde hic ornatus, haec opera atque artificia, signa, tabulae pictae, Graecos

[a] Here, as often, the images of gods are not thought of as clearly distinct from the gods themselves.

his sword still in his conquering hand, beheld and piously refrained from taking, which was worshipped by the citizens and other inhabitants of Syracuse, and not only visited but venerated by travellers who came there—this one Verres took from the temple of Jupiter, and carried it away. If I may refer once 131
more to Marcellus, gentlemen, you may take it that the Syracusans have had to mourn the loss of more gods through the visits of Verres than of men through the victory of Marcellus. Indeed, Marcellus is even said to have searched for that brilliant and learned man Archimedes, and to have been deeply distressed when told that he had been killed; whereas everything for which Verres searched he searched for not to keep it safe but to carry it off.

LIX. Certain misdeeds that will be held less serious I will pass over for that reason, such as his making off with Delphic tables of marble, fine bronze bowls, and a great quantity of Corinthian ware, from all the sacred edifices of Syracuse. The result of all 132
this, gentlemen, is that the persons known as "mystagogues," who act as guides to visitors and show them the various things worth seeing, have had to reverse the form of their explanations. Formerly, they showed you everyhere what things were; now, they explain everywhere what has been taken away.

Well now, gentlemen, do you suppose that all this has caused comparatively slight distress? Far from it. In the first place, they are all religious people and believe it their duty to worship diligently, and to hold in safe keeping, the ancestral gods [a] they inherited from their forefathers. And further, this decorative stuff, these artistic productions, statues and pictures and so on, afford all Greek persons only too

homines nimio opere delectant. Itaque ex illorum querimoniis intellegere possumus haec illis acerbissima videri quae forsitan nobis levia et contemnenda esse videantur. Mihi credite, iudices—tametsi vosmet ipsos haec eadem audire certo scio—cum multas acceperint per hosce annos socii atque exterae nationes calamitates et iniurias, nullas Graeci homines gravius ferunt ac tulerunt quam huiusce modi
133 spoliationes fanorum atque oppidorum. Licet iste dicat emisse se, sicuti solet dicere, credite hoc mihi, iudices: nulla umquam civitas tota Asia et Graecia signum ullum, tabulam pictam ullam,[1] ullum denique ornamentum urbis sua voluntate cuiquam vendidit; nisi forte existimatis, posteaquam iudicia severa Romae fieri desierunt, Graecos homines haec venditare coepisse quae tum non modo non venditabant, cum iudicia fiebant, verum etiam coemebant; aut nisi arbitramini L. Crasso, Q. Scaevolae, C. Claudio, potentissimis hominibus, quorum aedilitates ornatissimas vidimus, commercium istarum rerum cum Graecis hominibus non fuisse, iis qui post iudiciorum dissolutionem aediles facti sunt fuisse.

134 LX. Acerbiorem etiam scitote esse civitatibus falsam istam et simulatam emptionem quam si qui clam surripiat aut eripiat palam atque auferat. Nam turpitudinem summam esse arbitrantur referri in tabulas publicas pretio adductam civitatem et pretio

[1] ullam, *not in the MSS., is a generally accepted insertion.*

much pleasure: so that when we hear their tale of distress we can see why they feel acutely miserable at what we, perhaps, feel to be negligible trifles. Believe me, gentlemen—though I am quite sure that you have yourselves heard what I am telling you—: in spite of all the disasters that in recent years have befallen both our allies and foreign peoples, and all the wrongs that they have suffered, nothing is causing, or has caused, more distress to the Greek part of them than such plunderings of temples and towns as I now
speak of. Verres may say, as he usually does say, that 133
he bought everything; but believe me, gentlemen, when I tell you that no community anywhere in Asia or in Greece has of its own free will sold any statue, or any picture, or any civic work of art whatever to anyone on any occasion. You will hardly suppose that since the law-courts of Rome ceased to administer strict justice these Greeks have begun to offer for sale the objects that—when courts of justice did exist—they not only would not offer for sale but would buy in great numbers: nor will you suppose that whereas no opportunities of buying such things from Greek owners were offered to persons so powerful as Lucius Crassus and Quintus Scaevola and Gaius Claudius, whose aedileships were marked by shows as brilliant as any that we have seen, such opportunities have been offered to those who have become aediles since our law-courts went to pieces.

LX. I would have you know that these falsely 134
alleged purchases are even more distressing to the various communities than any secret theft or open seizure and removal. They account it the height of disgrace to have it set down in their public records that their community was induced by the offer of

parvo, ea quae accepisset a maioribus vendidisse atque abalienasse. Etenim mirandum in modum Graeci rebus istis quas nos contemnimus delectantur. Itaque maiores nostri facile patiebantur haec esse apud illos quam plurima : apud socios, ut imperio nostro quam ornatissimi florentissimique essent ; apud eos autem quos vectigales aut stipendiarios fecerant tamen haec relinquebant, ut illi, quibus haec iucunda sunt quae nobis levia videntur, haberent haec oblectamenta et
135 solacia servitutis. Quid arbitramini Reginos, qui iam cives Romani sunt, merere velle ut ab iis marmorea Venus illa auferatur ? quid Tarentinos ut Europam in tauro amittant, ut Satyrum qui apud illos in aede Vestae est, ut cetera ? quid Thespienses ut Cupidinis signum propter quod unum visuntur Thespiae, quid Cnidios ut Venerem marmoream, quid ut pictam Coos, quid Ephesios ut Alexandrum, quid Cyzicenos ut Aiacem aut Medeam, quid Rhodios ut Ialysum, quid Athenienses ut ex marmore Iacchum aut Paralum pictum aut ex aere Myronis buculam ? Longum est et non necessarium commemorare quae apud quosque visenda sint tota Asia et Graecia ; verum illud est quam ob rem haec commemorem, quod existimare hoc vos volo, mirum quendam dolorem accipere eos ex quorum urbibus haec auferantur.

136 LXI. Atque ut ceteros omittamus, de ipsis Syracusanis cognoscite. Ad quos ego cum venissem, sic

money, and of a small sum of money at that, to sell and alienate its ancestral heirlooms. It is indeed quite astonishing what delight a Greek will take in these things of which a Roman thinks so little. Because of this, our forefathers were ready to let them keep as many of such things as possible : to let our allies keep them, so that they might enjoy the utmost splendour and prosperity as members of our empire ; and even to leave them in the hands of those whom we made our subjects and tributaries, so that they, since they enjoy so much these things for which we care so little, might have them to cheer and console them in their state of subjection. What sum of money do you 135
imagine the people of Regium, now Roman citizens, would demand before parting with their famous marble Venus ? or the Tarentines, before losing their Europa on the Bull, the Satyr in their temple of Vesta, and their other treasures ? or the Thespians for the statue of Cupid that is their town's only attraction for visitors ? or the people of Cnidus for their marble Venus, or those of Cos for their painted one ? or the Ephesians for their Alexander, or the Cyzicenes for their Ajax or their Medea, or the Rhodians for their Ialysus ? or the Athenians for their marble Iacchus, their picture of Paralus, or their bronze heifer by Myron ? It would be tedious, and needless, to mention all the noteworthy sights to be found in the several towns of Greece and Asia : my purpose in mentioning these few is to convince you that an extraordinary degree of pain has been caused to those whose towns have been robbed of such treasures.

LXI. To pass over other places, let me describe to 136
you the feeling at Syracuse itself. At first, on my

primum existimabam, ut Romae ex istius amicis acceperam, civitatem Syracusanam propter Heraclii hereditatem non minus esse isti amicam quam Mamertinam propter praedarum ac furtorum omnium societatem; simul et verebar ne mulierum nobilium et formosarum gratia, quarum iste arbitrio praeturam per triennium gesserat, virorumque quibuscum illae nuptae erant nimia in istum non modo lenitudine sed etiam liberalitate oppugnarer, si quid ex litteris
137 Syracusanorum conquirerem. Itaque Syracusis cum civibus Romanis eram, eorum tabulas exquirebam, iniurias cognoscebam. Cum diutius in negotio curaque fueram, ut requiescerem curamque animi remitterem, ad Carpinatii praeclaras tabulas revertebar, ubi cum equitibus Romanis, hominibus ex illo conventu honestissimis, illius Verrucios, de quibus ante dixi, explicabam; a Syracusanis prorsus nihil adiumenti neque publice neque privatim exspectabam, neque erat in animo postulare.

Cum haec agerem, repente ad me venit Heraclius, is qui tum magistratum Syracusis habebat, homo nobilis, qui sacerdos Iovis fuisset, qui honos est apud Syracusanos amplissimus. Agit mecum et cum fratre meo ut, si nobis videretur, adiremus ad eorum senatum; frequentes esse in curia; se iussu senatus a
138 nobis petere ut veniremus. Primo nobis fuit dubium

[a] For this affair see Book ii. §§ 35-50; especially, in the above connexion, §§ 45-50.

[b] See Book ii. §§ 169-191, especially §§ 186-191.

arrival there, I was under the impression, gathered from what I had been told at Rome by Verres' friends, that Syracuse was quite as friendly to him, because of the legacy of Heraclius,[a] as Messana was because of its partnership in all his thefts and robberies; and at the same time I was afraid that, if I sought to collect information from the Syracusan records, I should be opposed by his popularity with the women of rank and beauty whose wishes had been his law during his three years of office, and by the undue toleration, nay, by the warm support, accorded
him by these ladies' legal husbands. It was there- 137
fore the Roman citizens at Syracuse with whom I was spending my time there, whose accounts I was examining, and into whose wrongs I was inquiring. After being engaged for a long while in this troublesome business, I felt the need of rest and mental relaxation: so I went back to those precious accounts of Carpinatius,[b] and it was then that, with the help of certain knights of the highest standing in the Roman community, I solved the problem of the man's "Verrucius" entries about which I have told you already. I was looking for no help at all either from the city of Syracuse or from its individual citizens, and had no intention of asking for it.

While thus occupied, I received an unexpected visit from Heraclius, at that time one of the chief magistrates at Syracuse; a man of high rank, who had held the office of priest of Jupiter, the highest distinction that a Syracusan can hold. He asked me, and my cousin, to be kind enough to come to a meeting of their senate; they were assembled in the senate-house, which was crowded, and this request of his for
our attendance was made by their orders. At first 138

quid ageremus; deinde cito venit in mentem non
esse vitandum illum nobis conventum et locum,
itaque in curiam venimus. LXII. Honorifice sane
consurgitur; nos rogatu magistratus assedimus.
Incipit is loqui qui et auctoritate et aetate et, ut
mihi visum est, usu rerum antecedebat, Diodorus
Timarchidi, cuius omnis oratio hanc habuit primo
sententiam: senatum et populum Syracusanum
moleste graviterque ferre quod ego, cum in ceteris
Siciliae civitatibus senatum populumque docuissem
quid iis utilitatis, quid salutis afferrem, et cum ab
omnibus mandata, legatos, litteras testimoniaque
sumpsissem, in illa civitate nihil eius modi facerem.
Respondi neque Romae in conventu Siculorum, cum a
me auxilium communi omnium legationum consilio
petebatur causaque totius provinciae ad me defere-
batur, legatos Syracusanorum adfuisse, neque me
postulare ut quicquam contra C. Verrem decerneretur
in ea curia in qua inauratam C. Verris statuam
139 viderem. Quod posteaquam dixi, tantus est gemitus
factus aspectu statuae et commemoratione ut illud
in curia positum monumentum scelerum, non bene-
ficiorum videretur. Tum pro se quisque, quantum
dicendo assequi poterat, docere me coepit ea quae
paulo ante commemoravi, spoliatam urbem, fana
direpta, de Heraclii hereditate quam palaestritis con-

we were in doubt what to do; then it suddenly struck
us that we ought not to avoid such a meeting in such
a place, and we went to the senate-house accordingly.
LXII. As we entered, those present rose, with the
utmost respect, to their feet, and the president invited
us to take seats near him. Then Diodorus the son of
Timarchides, their oldest, most influential and, I
gathered, most experienced member, proceeded to
make a speech, the main tenor of which throughout
was that the senate and people of Syracuse were
deeply distressed that I, who had informed the senate
and people in all the other Sicilian communities of
my mission of help and deliverance, and had received
from all of them instructions and official witnesses and
extracts from records and written evidence, had done
nothing of this kind at Syracuse. I replied that
at the meeting of Sicilians in Rome at which all the
representatives present drew up a unanimous petition
to me for my help, and the cause of the whole province
was put into my hands, no representatives of Syracuse
had been there; and that I could not expect any
resolution hostile to Gaius Verres to be passed in a
senate-house where I saw before me Gaius Verres'
gilded statue. These words of mine were followed 139
by such a groan, as those present looked at the statue
and took in my reference to it, that one might have
supposed it set up in the senate-house to com-
memorate the man's crimes and not his services.
And then one man after another used all his powers of
eloquence to tell me of the facts that I put before
you a few minutes ago: of how their city had
been robbed and their temples plundered; and how
he had himself appropriated far the greatest part of
the legacy of Heraclius that he had awarded to the

cessisset multo maximam partem ipsum abstulisse; neque postulandum fuisse, ut ille palaestritas diligeret qui etiam inventorem olei deum sustulisset; neque illam statuam esse ex pecunia publica neque publice datam, sed eos qui hereditatis diripiendae participes fuissent faciendam statuendamque curasse; eosdem Romae fuisse legatos, illius adiutores improbitatis, socios furtorum, conscios flagitiorum; eo minus mirari me oportere si illi communi legatorum voluntati et saluti Siciliae defuissent.

140 LXIII. Ubi eorum dolorem ex illius iniuriis non modo non minorem sed prope maiorem quam Siculorum ceterorum esse cognovi, tum meum animum in illos, tum mei consilii negotiique totius suscepti causam rationemque proposui, tum eos hortatus sum ut causae communi salutique ne deessent, ut illam laudationem quam se vi ac metu coactos paucis illis diebus decresse dicebant tollerent. Itaque, iudices, Syracusani haec faciunt, istius clientes atque amici. Primum mihi litteras publicas quas in aerario sanctiore conditas habebant proferunt; in quibus ostendunt omnia quae dixi ablata esse perscripta, et plura etiam quam ego potui dicere; perscripta autem hoc

[a] Regularly used by athletes: for the theft of the statue of Aristaeus see § 128.

keepers of the athletic park; and how little he should be suspected of any friendliness for keepers of athletic parks, when he had even stolen the god who had discovered the use of oil [a]; and how the statue there had not been erected at the cost of the city or presented by the city, but those who had participated in the plunder from the legacy had had it made and set up there; and how their representatives at Rome had been these same men, who had helped Verres in his misconduct, shared in his thefts, and been privy to his shameful deeds; and how I ought therefore not to be greatly surprised that they refused to support all the other representatives, or to defend the cause of Sicily.

LXIII. As soon as it became clear to me that the pain caused to those people by the wrongs that Verres had done them was not merely as great as that caused to the rest of the Sicilians, but perhaps even greater, I told them of my feelings towards them; I put fully before them the basis and principle of my intended action, and of the enterprise to which I had committed myself; I urged them to be true to the cause and to help the deliverance of Sicily, and to rescind the eulogy which, as they told me, they had been forced and intimidated into decreeing only a few days before. And, gentlemen, the people of Syracuse, the followers and friends of Verres, did so accordingly. First they produced for my inspection certain public records which they had been keeping stowed away in the more private part of their treasury; included in these they showed me a detailed list of all the robberies of which I have told you, and of even more than I have been able to mention. The entries were in this form: that whereas such and such things 140

modo: Quod ex aede Minervae hoc et illud abesset, quod ex aede Iovis, quod ex aede Liberi—ut quisque iis rebus tuendis conservandisque praefuerat, ita perscriptum erat—cum rationem e lege redderent et quae acceperant tradere deberent, petisse ut sibi quod eae res abessent ignosceretur; itaque omnes liberatos discessisse, et esse ignotum omnibus. Quas ego litteras obsignandas publico signo deportandasque curavi.

141 De laudatione autem ratio sic mihi reddita est. Primum, cum a C. Verre litterae aliquanto ante adventum meum de laudatione venissent, nihil esse decretum; deinde, cum quidam ex illius amicis commonerent oportere decerni, maximo clamore esse et convicio repudiatos; postea, cum meus adventus appropinquaret, imperasse eum qui summam potestatem haberet ut decernerent; decretum ita esse ut multo plus illi laudatio mali quam boni posset afferre. Id adeo, iudices, ut mihi ab illis demonstratum est, sic vos ex me cognoscite.

142 LXIV. Mos est Syracusis ut, si qua de re ad senatum referant, dicat sententiam qui velit; nominatim nemo rogatur, et tamen, ut quisque aetate et honore antecedit, ita primus solet sua sponte dicere, itaque a ceteris ei conceditur; sin aliquando tacent omnes, tum sortito coguntur dicere. Cum hic mos esset,

[a] A cautious reference to L. Metellus, Verres' successor. For his efforts on Verres' behalf see, *e.g.*, Book ii. §§ 62-65.

[b] Or perhaps "when any matter is brought forward"; and so elsewhere in this paragraph.

were missing from the temple of Minerva, the temple of Jupiter, the temple of Liber, and so on—there were separate entries for each person responsible for the care and protection of the several objects—upon the keepers being called to account, as the law bids, and being required to hand over what had been entrusted to them, these persons had applied for indemnity in respect of the disappearance of the said things; and that they had all been acquitted of responsibility, and indemnity accorded to them all. These documents I caused to be officially sealed and taken away with me.

Of the eulogy the following account was given me. 141
In the first place, some time before my arrival they had received from Verres a letter asking for an eulogy; but none was decreed. Later, some of his friends urged that one ought to be decreed; but their proposal was rejected with loud shouts and angry abuse. Later still, when the time for my arrival was drawing near, the holder of supreme authority[a] ordered them to decree one: they obeyed, but in a fashion calculated to do Verres much more harm than good; which fact I will now put before you, in the form in which it was pointed out by them to me.

LXIV. It is the custom at Syracuse that when 142
a motion is proposed[b] in the senate anyone who chooses may speak to it; no particular person is called upon to speak. It is, indeed, usual for the person senior in age or official position to be willing to speak first, and the others concede him this priority. If, however, as sometimes happens, no one rises, the members are compelled to speak in an order determined by lot. This, then, being their

refertur ad senatum de laudatione Verris. In quo primum, ut aliquid esset morae, multi interpellant; de Sex. Peducaeo, qui de illa civitate totaque provincia optime meritus esset, sese antea, cum audissent ei negotium facessitum, cumque eum publice pro plurimis eius et maximis meritis laudare cuperent, a C. Verre prohibitos esse; iniquum esse, tametsi Peducaeus eorum laudatione iam non uteretur, tamen non id prius decernere quod aliquando voluissent
143 quam quod tum cogerentur. Conclamant omnes et approbant ita fieri oportere. Refertur de Peducaeo. Ut quisque aetate et honore antecedebat, ita sententiam dixit ex ordine. Id adeo ex ipso senatus consulto cognoscite; nam principum sententiae perscribi solent. Recita. QUOD VERBA FACTA SUNT DE SEX. PEDUCAEO. Dic et[1] qui primi suaserint. Decernitur. Refertur deinde de Verre. Dic, quaeso quo modo? QUOD VERBA FACTA SUNT DE C. VERRE. Quid postea scriptum est? CUM SURGERET NEMO NEQUE SENTENTIAM DICERET. Quid est hoc? SORS DUCITUR. Quam ob rem? nemo erat voluntarius laudator praeturae tuae, defensor periculorum, praesertim cum inire a praetore gratiam posset? Nemo. Illi ipsi

[1] dicit *MSS. and most editors*: dic et *Richter*.

custom, a motion proposing an eulogy of Verres was now proposed in their senate. The first response to it was an amendment, moved by a number of members in order to secure some delay, with reference to Sextus Peducaeus. He, they said, had done extremely well by Syracuse and by Sicily as a whole; and when they had heard, some time ago, that trouble had been stirred up for him, they had been anxious to give him an official eulogy for his numerous and important services, but had been forbidden to do so by Gaius Verres; and although their eulogy could no longer be of use to Peducaeus, it would be unfair not to pass the measure that they had formerly wished to pass, before that which they were being forced to pass now. There was general applause, 143
and it was agreed that this was the proper thing to do. The motion about Peducaeus was proposed, and members spoke to it in the order of seniority determined by their age or official position. Let me confirm this to you from the actual wording of the decree—for it is their custom to make a full record of the opinions expressed by the leading speakers.—Read it out, please.—*On the motion concerning Sextus Peducaeus. . . .*—Tell us who were the chief supporters of the motion.—The motion was passed; and then the motion about Verres was brought forward.—Tell us what happened, please.—*On the motion concerning Gaius Verres. . . .*—Yes, what comes next?—*No one having risen to address the House . . .*—Oh, indeed?—*Lots were drawn.*—And why, Verres? Was there no one ready of his own accord to eulogize your conduct as governor and support you in the hour of danger—and gain the present governor's goodwill into the bargain? There was not. Not even your

tui convivae, consiliarii, conscii, socii verbum facere non audent. In qua curia statua tua stabat et nuda filii, in ea nemo fuit, ne quem nudus quidem filius
144 nudata provincia commoveret. Atque etiam hoc me docent, eius modi se fecisse laudationem[1] ut omnes intellegere possent non laudationem sed potius irrisionem esse illam, quae commonefaceret istius turpem calamitosamque praeturam. Etenim scriptum esse ita: QUOD IS VIRGIS NEMINEM CECIDISSET—a quo cognostis nobilissimos homines atque innocentissimos securi esse percussos; QUOD VIGILANTER PROVINCIAM ADMINISTRASSET—cuius omnes vigilias in stupris constat adulteriisque esse consumptas; [2]QUOD PRAEDONES PROCUL AB INSULA SICILIA PROHIBUISSET—quos etiam intra Syracusanam insulam recepisset.

145 Haec posteaquam ex illis cognovi, discessi cum fratre e curia, ut nobis absentibus si quid vellent decernerent. LXV. Decernunt statim primum ut cum L. fratre hospitium publice fieret, quod is eandem voluntatem erga Syracusanos suscepisset quam ego semper habuissem. Id non modo tum scripserunt, verum etiam in aere incisum nobis tradiderunt. Valde hercule te Syracusani tui, quos crebro commemorare soles, diligunt, qui cum accusatore tuo satis iustam causam coniungendae necessitudinis putant

[1] sese fecisse laudationem *Mueller*: *the best MSS. read* s.c. fecisse laudationes (*or* -is): *Peterson* (Classical Review *xviii.* 211) senatus consultum fecisse laudatores.

[2] *Before these words the MSS. show the curious passage* cuius modi constat hoc vero scriptum esse quod proferre non auderet reus accusator recitare desineret.

own boon-companions and counsellors and accomplices and partners dared to utter one word. There in the senate-house stood your statue, and the naked figure of your son; and there was no one in that senate-house whose sympathy could be roused even by your son's naked charms, in that province that
was itself stripped naked.—It was further pointed 144
out to me that they had so worded their eulogy as to show everyone that it was not really an eulogy, but a satire that drew attention to the discreditable and disastrous nature of Verres' rule: that there were such clauses as *because he had no one flogged*—whereas you have learnt that he had men of high rank and stainless character actually beheaded; or *for his watchful administration of his province*—whereas everyone knows that his night watches were invariably spent in fornication and adultery; or *because he prevented the pirates from approaching the island of Sicily*—whereas he had allowed them to sail in past the island of Syracuse.

Having learnt these facts from them, my cousin 145
and I left the senate-house, so that they might pass such decrees as they might wish without our being present. LXV. They at once agreed, in the first place, to make me an official guest of the city, and my cousin Lucius as well, seeing that he had now taken it upon himself to show the same friendship for Syracuse as I had always shown. Not only did they record this degree in writing at once, but they presented it to us engraved in bronze.—You are constantly referring to "your Syracusan friends": upon my word, they must be deeply attached to you, if they form ties of friendship with your prosecutor, and think themselves fully justified in doing so by

quod te accusaturus sit et quod inquisitum in te venerit. Postea decernitur, ac non varie sed prope cunctis sententiis, ut laudatio quae C. Verri decreta
146 esset tolleretur. In eo cum iam non solum discessio facta esset, sed etiam perscriptum atque in tabulas relatum, praetor appellatur. At quis appellat? magistratus aliqui? Nemo. Senator? Ne id quidem. Syracusanorum aliqui? Minime. Quis igitur praetorem appellat? Qui quaestor istius fuerat, P. Caesetius. O rem ridiculam! o desertum hominem, desperatum, relictum! A magistratu Siculo, ne senatus consultum Siculi homines facere possent, ne suum ius suis moribus, suis legibus obtinere possent, non amicus istius, non hospes, non denique aliquis Siculus, sed quaestor populi Romani praetorem appellat! Quis hoc vidit, quis audivit? Praetor aequus et sapiens dimitti iubet senatum. Concurrit ad me maxima multitudo. Primum senatores clamare sibi eripi ius, eripi libertatem; populus senatum laudare, gratias agere; cives Romani a me nusquam discedere. Quo quidem die nihil aegrius factum est multo labore meo quam ut manus ab illo appellatore abstinerentur.

147 Cum ad praetorem in ius adissemus, excogitat sane

[a] No doubt the chairman or president of the senate.

his intention to prosecute you and his visit to collect evidence against you.—It was next agreed, and not by a small majority but almost unanimously, to rescind the eulogy already decreed for Gaius Verres.
This resolution had not only been voted upon, but 146
even written out and entered in their records, when notice was given of an appeal to the governor. And given by whom? By one of their magistrates? No. By a senator? Not that either. By some Syracusan citizen? Not a bit of it. Who did appeal to the governor, then? Publius Caesetius—a former quaestor of Verres. Dear me, how ridiculous! Poor deserted, hopeless, abandoned Verres! From the ruling of a Sicilian magistrate [a]—in order to prevent Sicilian senators passing a decree—to debar them from exercising their own rights in accordance with their own customs and their own laws—appeal is made to the Roman governor, not by a friend of Verres, not by a host of Verres, not, in fact, by a Sicilian at all, but by a Roman quaestor. Was such a thing ever seen or heard of before? Our prudent and fair-minded governor dissolved the meeting of the senate. A great crowd gathered quickly at the place I was in. There were loud complaints from senators that their rights and their liberties were being torn from them, to which the citizens replied with cries of approval for the senate and of gratitude towards myself: and all the time there were Roman citizens keeping me company. And that day it was only with the utmost difficulty, and after great exertions on my part, that the people were restrained from laying hands on the man who had made the appeal.

Upon our appearance in court before the governor, 147

acute quid decernat. Nam ante quam verbum facerem, de sella surrexit atque abiit. Itaque tum de foro, cum iam advesperasceret, discessimus. LXVI. Postridie mane ab eo postulo ut Syracusanis liceret senatus consultum, quod pridie fecissent, mihi reddere. Ille enim vero negat, et ait indignum facinus esse quod ego in senatu Graeco verba fecissem; quod quidem apud Graecos Graece locutus essem, id ferri nullo modo posse. Respondi homini ut potui, ut debui, ut volui. Cum multa tum etiam hoc me memini dicere, facile esse perspicuum quantum inter hunc et illum Numidicum, verum et germanum Metellum, interesset; illum noluisse sua laudatione iuvare L. Lucullum, sororis virum, quicum optime convenisset, hunc homini alienissimo a civitatibus
148 laudationes per vim et metum comparare. Quod ubi intellexi multum apud illum recentes nuntios, multum tabellas non commendaticias sed tributarias valuisse, admonitu ipsorum Syracusanorum impetum in eas tabulas facio in quibus senatus consultum perscripserant. Ecce autem nova turba atque rixa, ne tamen istum omnino Syracusis sine amicis, sine hospitibus, plane nudum esse ac desertum putetis. Retinere incipit tabulas Theomnastus quidam, homo ridicule insanus, quem Syracusani Theoractum vocant; qui

[a] The consul of 109 who commanded in the war against Jugurtha.

[b] So Hall translates; but it is not clear what *tabulae tributariae* can mean. It seems unlikely that Verres was offering Metellus a financial "tribute" or bribe; nor does the phrase seem to have normally any technical sense.

[c] Not "remembered" but "blasted" by the gods.

he devised a highly ingenious way of deciding the question: before I could utter a word, he rose from his seat and left the court. It was already growing late: so for the present we all went off home. LXVI. Early the next morning, I applied to him for permission for the Syracusans to furnish me with a copy of their decree of the day before. He firmly refused, adding that I had behaved improperly in addressing a Greek senate: and to have talked to a Greek audience in its own language was, it would appear, something quite intolerable. I made the only answer that I could or should or would have made. I remember telling him, among other things, that it was easy to discern the difference between this Metellus and that true and genuine member of the family, the famous Numidicus[a]: *that* Metellus had refused to give eulogistic testimony in support of Lucius Lucullus, though Lucullus was his sister's husband and on the best of terms with him, whereas this present one was using force and intimidation to make a city eulogize a man with whom he had
nothing at all in common. Well, on becoming aware 148
that he had been much influenced by messages that had lately reached him, by letters that were not letters of introduction but letters of credit,[b] I tried, at the suggestion of the Syracusans themselves, to seize the tablets on which the decree had been written out. At once there was fresh trouble and disputation: I would not, after all, have you suppose Verres to be altogether without friends and entertainers at Syracuse, or entirely defenceless and abandoned. A man called Theomnastus took the tablets and held on to them—an amusingly crazy fool whom the townsfolk call Theoractus,[c] the sort of man

illic eius modi est ut eum pueri sectentur, ut omnes cum loqui coepit irrideant. Huius tamen insania, quae ridicula est aliis, mihi tum molesta sane fuit; nam cum spumas ageret in ore, oculis arderet, voce maxima vim me sibi afferre clamaret, copulati in ius
149 pervenimus. Hic ego postulare coepi ut mihi tabulas obsignare ac deportare liceret; ille contra dicere, negare esse illud senatus consultum in quo praetor appellatus esset, negare id mihi tradi oportere. Ego legem recitare, omnium mihi tabularum et litterarum fieri potestatem; ille furiosus urgere nihil ad se nostras leges pertinere. Praetor intellegens negare sibi placere, quod senatus consultum ratum esse non deberet, id me Romam deportare. Quid multa? nisi vehementius homini minatus essem, nisi legis sanctionem poenamque recitassem, tabularum mihi potestas facta non esset. Ille autem insanus, qui pro isto vehementissime contra me declamasset, postquam non impetravit, credo, ut in gratiam mecum rediret, libellum mihi dat in quo istius furta Syracusana perscripta erant, quae ego antea iam ab aliis cognoram et acceperam.

150 LXVII. Laudent te iam sane Mamertini, quoniam ex tota provincia soli sunt qui te salvum velint; ita tamen laudent ut Heius, qui princeps legationis est, adsit; ita laudent ut ad ea quae rogati erunt mihi

whom the boys follow about, and who makes everyone laugh as soon as he opens his mouth. His craziness, however, while it amuses other folk, was on this occasion a real nuisance to myself. He foamed at the mouth, his eyes blazed, he shouted at the top of his voice that I was assaulting him; and we were still struggling together as we reached the praetor's court.
Here I proceeded to apply for leave to seal up and 149
remove these tablets, while he protested, arguing that the appeal to the governor made the decree of the senate invalid, and that it ought not to be handed over to me. I quoted the law authorizing me to possess myself of all records and documents whatsoever, and the lunatic insisted that our laws had nothing to do with him. Our discerning governor ruled that I ought not to remove to Rome a document that could not properly be a valid decree of the senate. Well, I can only say that unless I had given him an emphatic warning, and quoted the text of the sanctions and penalties prescribed in the law, I should not have secured possession of those tablets. As for my crazy opponent, although he had opposed me on Verres' behalf with such violent clamour, when he failed to gain his end he gave me, doubtless to recover my goodwill, a note-book containing a written list of all Verres' thefts at Syracuse—which I knew already, from information supplied to me by other people.

LXVII. And now let your friends at Messana 150
eulogize you, by all means, since they are the only people in the whole province who would welcome your acquittal: but when they do so, let Heius, their chief representative, be present; and when they do so, let them be ready to answer the questions they

parati sint respondere. Ac ne subito a me opprimantur, haec sum rogaturus: Navem populo Romano debeantne. Fatebuntur. Praebuerintne praetore C. Verre. Negabunt. Aedificarintne navem onerariam maximam publice, quam Verri dederunt. Negare non poterunt. Frumentum ab iis sumpseritne C. Verres, quod populo Romano mitteret, sicuti superiores. Negabunt. Quid militum aut nautarum per triennium dederint. Nullum datum dicent. Fuisse Messanam omnium istius furtorum ac praedarum receptricem negare non poterunt; permulta multis navibus illinc exportata, hanc navem denique maximam a Mamertinis datam onustam cum isto profectam fatebuntur.

151 Quam ob rem tibi habe sane istam laudationem Mamertinorum; Syracusanam quidem civitatem ut abs te affecta est ita in te esse animatam videmus; apud quos etiam Verria illa flagitiosa sublata sunt. Etenim minime conveniebat ei deorum honores haberi qui simulacra deorum abstulisset. Etiam hercule illud in Syracusanis merito reprehenderetur, si, cum diem festum ludorum de fastis suis sustulissent celeberrimum et sanctissimum, quod eo ipso die Syracusae a Marcello captae esse dicuntur, idem diem festum Verris nomine agerent, cum iste a Syracusanis quae

will have been asked. And as I do not wish to crush them without warning, the questions I mean to ask are these. Are they bound to supply a ship for the Roman navy? They will admit that they are. Have they done so during Verres' governorship? They will say no. Have they at the public cost built a large cargo-ship and presented it to Verres? They will be unable to say no. Has Verres had corn from them, to be sent, as it has been sent by his predecessors, to feed the people of Rome? They will say no. What military or naval contingent have they furnished during these three years? They will reply that they have not furnished one man. They will be unable to deny that Messana has been the receiver of all Verres' stolen and plundered goods; they will admit that large quantities of these objects have been exported from their town in a number of different ships, and finally that this great cargo-ship which their town gave Verres sailed from there, heavily laden, at the same time as Verres himself.—

In view of these facts, you are quite welcome to your Messanian eulogy. That the feelings of the people of Syracuse towards you correspond to their treatment by you, we are fully aware. Even that villainous Festival of Verres has been abolished from their midst: it was indeed highly inappropriate that divine honours should be rendered to the man who had robbed them of their divine images. And I will add that the Syracusans would, upon my word, deserve censure, if they cut out of their calendar the day of festival celebration made famous and holy by the tradition of its being the actual day of the capture of Syracuse by Marcellus, and yet continued to observe a festival day commemorating Verres, when Verres 151

ille calamitosus dies reliquerat ademisset. Ac videte hominis impudentiam atque arrogantiam, iudices, qui non solum Verria haec turpia ac ridicula ex Heraclii pecunia constituerit, verum etiam Marcellia tolli imperarit, ut ei sacra facerent quotannis cuius opera omnium annorum sacra deosque patrios amiserant, eius autem familiae dies festos tollerent per quam ceteros quoque festos dies recuperarant.

had deprived them of everything that the former day of disaster had left them. Observe, gentlemen, the fellow's impudent arrogance in this matter. Not content with establishing this immoral and ridiculous Verres Festival of his—and endowing it with the money of Heraclius—he actually ordered the abolition of the Marcellus Festival. They were to hold solemn worship every year in honour of the man whom they have to thank for destroying the worship of all past years and taking the gods of their fathers from them: and they were to abolish the festival in honour of the family to which they owe the recovery of their power to keep both that festival and all others.

ACTIONIS SECUNDAE IN C. VERREM LIBER QUINTUS

1 I. Nemini video dubium esse, iudices, quin apertissime C. Verres in Sicilia sacra profanaque omnia et privatim et publice spoliarit, versatusque sit sine ulla non modo religione verum etiam dissimulatione in omni genere furandi atque praedandi. Sed quaedam mihi magnifica et praeclara eius defensio ostenditur; cui quem ad modum resistam multo mihi ante est, iudices, providendum. Ita enim causa constituitur, provinciam Siciliam virtute istius et vigilantia singulari dubiis formidolosisque temporibus a fugitivis atque a belli periculis tutam esse servatam.
2 Quid agam, iudices? quo accusationis meae rationem conferam? quo me vertam? ad omnes enim meos impetus quasi murus quidam boni nomen imperatoris opponitur. Novi locum; video ubi se iactaturus sit Hortensius. Belli pericula, tempora rei publicae, imperatorum penuriam commemorabit; tum deprecabitur a vobis, tum etiam pro suo iure contendet,

[a] Besides the war against Mithradates, these were the years of the great Servile War in Southern Italy.

THE SECOND SPEECH AGAINST GAIUS VERRES: BOOK V

I. Gentlemen, all of you are, I perceive, convinced 1
that Gaius Verres has plundered Sicily of all its treasures, sacred and secular, privately and publicly owned, in the most open fashion: that he has practised every description of theft and robbery, not only without the least scruple, but without the least concealment. But I am aware that a truly noble and impressive plea will be urged in his defence; a plea that I must be ready, well in advance, to counter properly. The argument now being built up is this, that during these years of anxiety and danger[a] the province of Sicily has been safely defended against the revolted slaves and the perils of war by the exceptional courage and vigilance of Verres. What 2
am I to do, gentlemen? to what line of attack am I to resort? which way am I to turn? the description of him as a great military commander rises like a rampart to withstand all my assaults. I know the type of argument; I see the topics on which Hortensius will triumphantly enlarge. He will remind you of the threatening military position, of the national crisis, of the shortage of good generals; and then he will implore you—nay, he will insist, as on something to which he himself is entitled, that you

ne patiamini talem imperatorem populo Romano Siculorum testimoniis eripi, ne obteri laudem imperatoriam criminibus avaritiae velitis.

3 Non possum dissimulare, iudices; timeo ne C. Verres propter hanc eximiam virtutem in re militari omnia quae fecit impune fecerit. Venit enim mihi in mentem in iudicio M'. Aquilii quantum auctoritatis, quantum momenti oratio M. Antonii habuisse existimata sit; qui, ut erat in dicendo non solum sapiens sed etiam fortis, causa prope perorata ipse arripuit M'. Aquilium constituitque in conspectu omnium, tunicamque eius a pectore abscidit, ut cicatrices populus Romanus iudicesque aspicerent adverso corpore exceptas; simul et de illo vulnere quod ille in capite ab hostium duce acceperat multa dixit, eoque adduxit eos qui erant iudicaturi vehementer ut vererentur ne, quem virum fortuna ex hostium telis eripuisset, cum sibi ipse non pepercisset, hic non ad populi Romani laudem sed ad iudicum cru-
4 delitatem videretur esse servatus. Eadem nunc ab illis defensionis ratio viaque temptatur, idem quaeritur. Sit fur, sit sacrilegus, sit flagitiorum omnium vitiorumque princeps; at est bonus imperator, at felix, et ad dubia rei publicae tempora reservandus. II. Non agam summo iure tecum, non dicam id quod debeam forsitan obtinere, cum iudicium certa lege sit,

[a] For extortion, in 98 B.C. He had been governor of Sicily, and ended the slave war there, three years earlier.

[b] *Felicitas* was felt by the Romans to be an actual quality attaching to certain persons, to be inferred from their past and reckoned upon for their future.

should not let Rome be robbed of so great a soldier by the evidence of Sicilian witnesses, nor suffer charges of avarice to wipe out so great a soldier's shining record.

I must be honest with you, gentlemen. I do fear 3
that the outstanding merit of Gaius Verres in the military sphere may gain him impunity for doing all the things that he has done. I remember, in the trial of Manius Aquilius,[a] how impressive, and how decisive, the speech of Marcus Antonius was felt to be. Near the end of it, like the bold as well as able orator that he was, with his own hands he laid hold of Aquilius, made him stand where all could see him, tore open his shirt and exposed his breast, that his countrymen might see the scars that he bore on the front of his body; and dwelling at the same time on the wound he had received in his head from the enemy's leader, reduced those with whom the decision lay to a state of trembling agitation. Fortune had saved a brave soldier from that death by the foeman's sword from which he had not sought to save himself: was it to seem that he had escaped, not to be the hero of Rome, but to fall a victim to the cruelty of his judges? This is the line of defence which my 4
opponents intend to adopt now, and the result at which they aim. Granted that Verres is a thief, that he is a sacrilegious thief, that he is a matchless exponent of vice and wickedness of every description: yet he is a great commander, a fortunate[b] commander, a commander whom we must keep to save our country in the hour of its danger.—II. Now, Verres, I will not deal with you as I am fully entitled to deal with you. I will not use an argument which I believe deserves to be held valid—that the law calls

non quid in re militari fortiter feceris, sed quem ad modum manus ab alienis pecuniis abstinueris, abs te doceri oportere; non, inquam, sic agam, sed ita quaeram, quem ad modum te velle intellego, quae tua opera et quanta fuerit in bello.

5 Quid dicis? an bello fugitivorum Siciliam virtute tua liberatam? Magna laus et honesta oratio; sed tamen quo bello? Nos enim, post illud bellum quod M'. Aquilius confecit, sic accepimus, nullum in Sicilia fugitivorum bellum fuisse. At in Italia fuit. Fateor, et magnum quidem ac vehemens. Num igitur ex eo bello partem aliquam laudis appetere conaris? num tibi illius victoriae gloriam cum M. Crasso aut Cn. Pompeio communicatam putas? Non arbitror hoc etiam tuae deesse impudentiae, ut quicquam eius modi dicere audeas. Obstitisti videlicet ne ex Italia transire in Siciliam fugitivorum copiae possent. Ubi, quando, qua ex parte? cum aut ratibus aut navibus conarentur accedere? Nos enim nihil umquam prorsus audivimus; sed illud audivimus, M. Crassi, fortissimi viri, virtute consilioque factum ne ratibus coniunctis freto fugitivi ad Messanam transire possent: a quo illi conatu non tanto opere prohibendi fuissent, si ulla in Sicilia praesidia ad illorum adventum op-
6 posita putarentur. At cum esset in Italia bellum

[a] *Ratibus coniunctis* perhaps means "by building rafts" (so Long takes it).

for a verdict on a specific issue, and that what you are therefore bound to demonstrate is not that you have done great things as a soldier, but that you have kept your hands off other men's property. I will not, I repeat, deal with you thus. I will inquire, as I gather that you would have me inquire, into the nature and extent of your military achievements.

What is your claim? Is it that your vigorous 5
measures saved Sicily from the war with the revolted slaves? A most praiseworthy achievement, and an admirable argument. But—what war was this? I have always understood that since the war to which Manius Aquilius put an end there has been no war with revolted slaves in Sicily. There was one in Italy? To be sure there was, and a great and terrible war. But you surely are not claiming a share in the credit of ending it? you surely do not regard Marcus Crassus or Gnaeus Pompeius as dividing with yourself the renown arising from its victorious conclusion? Your impudence, I do believe, is equal even to venturing upon some such claim as that. We are asked to believe that you made it impossible for bands of revolted slaves to cross from Italy to Sicily. Where? when? from what quarter? What attempted landing, in boats or ships, did you stop? I have never heard of anything of the kind at all. What I have heard is that the energy and ability of that great soldier Marcus Crassus made it impossible for the rebels to make a bridge of boats[a] and so cross the straits at Messana: an attempt that would not have needed much preventing, if it had been supposed that there were any garrisons stationed in Sicily to
meet them when they landed. We shall be told that 6

tam prope a Sicilia, tamen in Sicilia non fuit. Quid mirum? ne cum in Sicilia quidem fuit eodem intervallo, pars eius belli in Italiam ulla pervasit. III. Etenim propinquitas locorum ad utram partem hoc loco profertur? utrum aditum facilem hostibus an contagionem imitandi belli periculosam fuisse? Aditus omnis hominibus sine ulla facultate navium non modo disiunctus sed etiam clausus est, ut illis quibus Siciliam propinquam fuisse dicis facilius fuerit ad Oceanum pervenire quam ad Peloridem accedere.
7 Contagio autem ista servilis belli cur abs te potius quam ab iis omnibus qui ceteras provincias obtinuerunt praedicatur? An quod in Sicilia iam antea bella fugitivorum fuerunt? At ea ipsa causa est cur ista provincia minimo in periculo sit et fuerit. Nam posteaquam illinc M'. Aquilius decessit, omnium instituta atque edicta praetorum fuerunt eius modi ut ne quis cum telo servus esset. Vetus est quod dicam, et propter severitatem exempli nemini fortasse vestrum inauditum, L. Domitium praetorem in Sicilia, cum aper ingens ad eum allatus esset, admiratum requisisse quis eum percussisset; cum audisset pastorem cuiusdam fuisse, eum vocari ad se iussisse; illum cupide ad praetorem quasi ad laudem atque ad praemium accucurrisse; quaesisse Domitium qui tantam bestiam percussisset; illum respondisse, venabulo; statim deinde iussu praetoris in crucem esse sublatum. Durum hoc fortasse videatur, neque ego ullam in partem disputo; tantum intellego, maluisse Domitium crudelem in animadvertendo

[a] A few years later than Aquilius.

there was war in Italy, so close to Sicily, and yet in Sicily there was none. Is that remarkable? in just the same way, when there was war in Sicily, equally close to Italy, nothing of it crossed over to Italy. III. What, indeed, is the nearness of the two countries here produced to prove? that our enemies could easily enter Sicily? or that there was a danger of the infection of revolt spreading to it? For men wholly unprovided with ships, the way into Sicily was not only interrupted but completely blocked: the people you describe as close to Sicily could have got to the Atlantic Ocean more easily than to Cape Peloris. And as for your infection of the slave revolt, 7
why should that be brought up by you any more than by any one of the governors of all our other provinces? Is it because there have in the past been wars against revolted slaves in Sicily? Why, just for that reason your province is, and was then, in very little danger. Ever since Manius Aquilius left it, all its governors have made regulations and orders to ensure that no slave should have arms in his possession. I will recall an old story—so notable an instance of severity that it may be known to all of you. When Lucius Domitius was governor of Sicily,[a] a huge boar was one day brought to him. "A fine beast," he said; "who killed it?" Being told that it was someone's shepherd, he sent for the man, who came eagerly, expecting to be praised and rewarded. Domitius asked him how he had killed such a monster. "With a hunting-spear," the man replied: whereupon by the governor's orders he was immediately crucified. This may seem cruel treatment; I do not say that it was or that it was not. What is clear to me is that Domitius chose to punish the man and be

8 quam in praetermittendo dissolutum videri. IV. Ergo his institutis provinciae iam tum, cum bello sociorum tota Italia arderet, homo non acerrimus nec fortissimus, C. Norbanus, in summo otio fuit; perfacile enim sese Sicilia iam tuebatur, ut ne quod ex ipsa bellum posset exsistere. Etenim cum nihil tam coniunctum sit quam negotiatores nostri cum Siculis usu, re, ratione, concordia; et cum ipsi Siculi res suas ita constitutas habeant ut iis pacem expediat esse, imperium autem populi Romani sic diligant ut id imminui aut commutari minime velint; cumque haec a servorum bello pericula et praetorum institutis et dominorum disciplina provisa sint: nullum est malum domesticum quod ex ipsa provincia nasci possit.

9 Quid igitur? nulline motus in Sicilia servorum Verre praetore, nullaene consensiones factae esse dicuntur? Nihil sane quod ad senatum populumque Romanum pervenerit, nihil quod iste publice Romam scripserit; et tamen coeptum esse in Sicilia moveri aliquot locis servitium suspicor. Id adeo non tam ex re quam ex istius factis decretisque cognosco. Ac videte, quam non inimico animo sim acturus; ego

[a] The form of this sentence is intended to suggest a contrast with the feelings and aims of the revolting Italian communities.

thought merciless rather than to overlook his offence and be thought lax. IV. Well, the result of these 8 regulations for Sicily was that under Gaius Norbanus, even though all Italy was then ablaze with the flames of the Social War, that not very strenuous or valiant governor had no trouble at all to face: Sicily was now quite easily able to protect itself against the risk of any internal outbreak. Roman business men are linked with the Sicilians in the closest way by daily intercourse, material interests, common sense and friendly feeling. The activities of the Sicilians themselves are so organized that a state of peace is to their advantage, and they are well enough satisfied with the government of Rome not to have the least wish for its enfeeblement or transformation.[a] Against the danger already mentioned of war with revolted slaves they have been safeguarded by governors' regulations and the strictness of the slaves' own masters. For all these reasons, there is no internal trouble that can possibly arise within the province itself.

Well, but has no rising among the slaves, have no 9 conspiracies, been reported as occurring in Sicily while Verres was governor? Nothing, certainly, that has come to the ears of the Senate and people of Rome, nothing about which Verres has sent home any official written statement. But in spite of this I have reason to think that attempts at slave risings took place in several places in Sicily. And I am led to this conclusion not so much by direct evidence as by observing what Verres did or ordered to be done. I ask you to note how little malice there is in what I am about to say: of my own accord I shall be narrating and bringing to light just those facts which Verres

ipse haec quae ille quaerit, quae adhuc numquam audistis, commemorabo et proferam.

10 In Triocalino, quem locum fugitivi iam ante tenuerunt, Leonidae cuiusdam Siculi familia in suspicionem est vocata coniurationis. Res delata ad istum. Statim, ut par fuit, iussu eius homines qui fuerant nominati comprehensi sunt adductique Lilybaeum; domino denuntiatum est, causa dicta, damnati. V. Quid deinde? quid censetis? furtum fortasse aut praedam exspectatis aliquam. Nolite usque quaque idem quaerere. In metu belli furandi locus qui potest esse? etiam si qua fuit in hac re occasio praetermissa est. Tum potuit a Leonida nummorum aliquid auferre, cum denuntiavit ut adesset; fuit nundinatio aliqua, et isti non nova, ne causam dicerent; etiam alter locus, ut absolverentur: damnatis quidem servis quae praedandi potest esse ratio? produci ad supplicium necesse est. Testes enim sunt qui in consilio fuerunt, testes publicae tabulae, testis splendidissima civitas Lilybaetana, testis honestissimus maximusque conventus civium Romanorum; fieri nihil potest, producendi sunt. Itaque produ-
11 cuntur, et ad palum alligantur. Etiam nunc mihi exspectare videmini, iudices, quid deinde factum sit, quod iste nihil umquam fecit sine aliquo quaestu atque praeda. Quid in eius modi re fieri potuit? Quod commodum est exspectate, facinus quam vultis im-

[a] *i.e.*, the reality (till now scouted by Cicero) of the danger of slave risings.

is anxious to establish,[a] and of which you have so far heard nothing.

In the district of Triocala—a place once occupied, 10
in past days, by revolted slaves—the slaves of a Sicilian named Leonidas came to be suspected of planning a conspiracy. This was reported to Verres; and by his orders the persons named were very properly at once arrested and taken to Lilybaeum: their owner was summoned to appear, the case was tried, and the prisoners found guilty. V. What next? well, what would you suppose? you will be looking, perhaps, to hear of some piece of theft or robbery. But do not expect the same thing every time. In the midst of a war scare how can there be an opportunity for thieving? Besides, any chance the affair might have offered had been let slip. The man might have extracted a few pounds from Leonidas when he summoned him to appear in court; a bargain might have been struck—it would have been no novelty—to get the case dismissed; there was another one possible, to get the prisoners acquitted. But once the slaves have been found guilty, what method of robbing anyone is available? they must inevitably be marched off and executed. For the facts of the case are attested by the members of the court, by the official records, by the illustrious city of Lilybaeum, by the numerous and highly-respected community of Roman citizens. No help for it—off they must go. Off they went accordingly, and were
bound to the stake. You look to me, gentlemen, 11
still anxious to hear the sequel, knowing as you do that the man never did anything without getting some profit or plunder out of it. But what could be done here? Expect what you will—as rascally a

probum; vincam tamen exspectationem omnium. Homines sceleris coniurationisque damnati, ad supplicium traditi, ad palum alligati, repente multis milibus hominum inspectantibus soluti sunt et Triocalino illi domino redditi.

Quid hoc loco potes dicere, homo amentissime, nisi id quod ego non quaero, quod denique in re tam nefaria, tametsi dubitari non potest, tamen ne si dubitetur quidem quaeri oporteat, quid aut quantum aut quo modo acceperis? Remitto tibi hoc totum atque ista te cura libero; neque enim metuo ne hoc cuiquam persuadeatur, ut, ad quod facinus nemo praeter te ulla pecunia adduci potuerit, id tu gratis suscipere conatus sis. Verum de ista furandi praedandique ratione nihil dico; de hac imperatoria iam
12 tua laude disputo. VI. Quid ais, bone custos defensorque provinciae? Tu quos servos arma capere et bellum facere in Sicilia voluisse cognoras et de consilii sententia iudicaras, hos ad supplicium iam more maiorum traditos ex media morte eripere ac liberare ausus es, ut, quam damnatis crucem servis fixeras, hanc indemnatis videlicet civibus Romanis reservares? Perditae civitates desperatis iam omnibus rebus hos solent exitus exitiales habere, ut damnati in integrum

deed as you like to fancy: my tale will surpass your wildest expectations. Those men, after being convicted of the crime of conspiracy, handed over to execution, and bound to the stake, were suddenly, before the eyes of thousands of people, unbound and handed over to their owner, the man from Triocala.—

What can you say to this, you consummate madman, unless you answer a question that I do not ask—a question that indeed ought not to be asked in connexion with such a piece of iniquity, even if the answer were as doubtful as it is in fact obvious—the question of what you got for this, and how much you got, and how you got it? I spare you all this, and save you the trouble of an answer: I have no fear of anyone's being induced to believe that no money was paid to you for involving yourself in a crime which no money could have persuaded anyone but yourself to commit. However, I will not concern myself with your methods of thieving and plundering: my present subject is your reputation of being a
great commander. VI. Tell me now, you worthy 12
guardian and protector of your province: you found that those slaves meant to get hold of weapons and carry out an armed rising in Sicily, and pronounced them guilty in accordance with the verdict of your court, and then, when they were already delivered over, in the manner prescribed by tradition, to suffer execution, did you dare to save them, to pluck them from the very jaws of death—intending, no doubt, that the gallows you set up for slaves who had been convicted should be kept for Roman citizens who had not?—A crushed and hopelessly defeated country will often resort to the disastrous expedient of pardoning its convicts, releasing its prisoners, restor-

restituantur, vincti solvantur, exsules reducantur, res iudicatae rescindantur. Quae cum accidunt, nemo est quin intellegat ruere illam rem publicam; haec ubi eveniunt,[1] nemo est qui ullam spem salutis reli-
13 quam esse arbitretur. Atque haec sicubi facta sunt,[2] ita facta sunt ut homines populares aut nobiles supplicio aut exsilio levarentur; at non ab iis ipsis qui iudicassent, at non statim, at non eorum facinorum damnati quae ad vitam et ad fortunas omnium pertinerent. Hoc vero novum et eius modi est ut magis propter reum quam propter rem ipsam credibile videatur, ut homines servos, ut ipse qui iudicarat, ut statim e medio supplicio dimiserit, ut eius facinoris damnatos servos quod ad omnium liberorum caput et
14 sanguinem pertineret. O praeclarum imperatorem, nec iam cum M'. Aquilio, fortissimo viro, sed vero cum Paulis, Scipionibus, Mariis conferendum! tantumne vidisse in metu periculoque provinciae! Cum servitiorum animos in Sicilia suspensos propter bellum Italiae fugitivorum videret, ne quis se commovere auderet quantum terroris iniecit! Comprendi iussit; quis non pertimescat? causam dicere dominos; quid servo tam formidolosum? Fecisse videri pronuntiat; exortam videtur flammam paucorum dolore ac morte restinxisse. Quid deinde sequitur? Verbera atque

[1] *The best MSS. have the difficult* eveniant.
[2] facta sunt *is the reading of no MS., but is an addition now generally accepted.*

[a] These words, among others, show that torture before execution was normal in such cases.

ing its exiles, cancelling the sentences pronounced in its courts of law. When this happens, everyone knows that the country is tottering to its fall; where such things come to pass, nobody believes that there is any hope of escaping calamity. The effect of such 13
measures, wherever they are taken, is that certain persons, whether democrats or aristocrats, have their sentences of execution or exile revoked; but even so, not by the actual pronouncer of those sentences, nor instantaneously, and not if they have been convicted of crimes endangering the lives and fortunes of all their countrymen. Here, we have a new thing, a thing so monstrous that we believe it possible more because of the character of the criminal than because of the facts of the crime. The men thus let go were slaves; they were let go by the man who had sentenced them; they were let go instantaneously, and while their sentence was already being carried out; they were slaves condemned for a crime that endangered the persons and the lives of all free men. A truly great commander this! Let us compare 14
him no longer with the gallant Manius Aquilius: he is a Paulus, a Scipio, a Marius. What profound judgement he showed in that hour of fearful danger for the province! Observing the unrest among the slaves of Sicily that was caused by the servile war in Italy, how effectively he frightened them into keeping quiet! He has ordered arrests to be made—that must have terrified them all; he has summoned their masters to their trial—what can alarm slaves more than that? He has pronounced the accused men *Guilty*, and thus, by sentencing a few persons to a painful death, has quenched the flames of rebellion. What is the next step? The lash, the fire,[a] and that

ignes et illa extrema ad supplicium damnatorum, metum ceterorum, cruciatus et crux. Hisce omnibus suppliciis sunt liberati. Quis dubitet quin servorum animos summa formidine oppresserit, cum viderent ea facilitate praetorem ut ab eo servorum sceleris coniurationisque damnatorum vita vel ipso carnifice internuntio redimeretur?

15 VII. Quid? hoc in Apolloniensi Aristodamo, quid? in Leonte Imacharensi non idem fecisti? Quid? iste motus servitiorum bellique subita suspicio utrum tibi tandem diligentiam custodiendae provinciae an novam rationem improbissimi quaestus attulit? Halicyensis Eumenidae, nobilis hominis et honesti, magnae pecuniae, vilicus cum impulsu tuo insimulatus esset, HS $\overline{\text{LX}}$ a domino accepisti, quod nuper ipse iuratus docuit quem ad modum gestum esset. Ab equite Romano C. Matrinio absente, cum is esset Romae, quod eius vilicos pastoresque tibi in suspicionem venisse dixeras, HS $\overline{\text{DC}}$ abstulisti. Dixit hoc L. Flavius, qui tibi eam pecuniam numeravit, procurator C. Matrinii, dixit ipse Matrinius, dicet[1] vir clarissimus, Cn. Lentulus censor, qui Matrinii honoris causa recenti negotio ad te litteras misit mittendasque curavit.

16 Quid? de Apollonio, Diocli filio, Panhormitano, cui Gemino cognomen est, praeteriri potest? Ecquid

[1] *Some good* MSS. *omit* dicet; *others have* dicit; *none has* dixit.

[a] Some editors omit the comma after *pecuniae*: it is doubtful whether *magnae pecuniae vilicus* could mean "a valuable manager," or "a manager of a valuable estate."

[b] Presumably to bargain for repayment to Matrinius in return for not giving evidence against him.

final stage in the punishment of the guilty and the intimidation of the rest, the torments of crucifixion. And from all these penalties those men were set free. Who can doubt that he cowed and terrified the slaves, when they found our governor so easy-going that the executioner himself was the agent who purchased from him the lives of those slaves convicted of the crime of conspiracy?—

VII. Did you not also behave in the same way in 15 the case of Aristodamus of Apollonia? and again in the case of Leon of Imachara? And did your "unrest among the slaves" and "sudden evidence of armed conspiracy" lead you to a belated zeal for securing the safety of your province, or to a new and most villainous method of enriching yourself? Eumenides of Halicyae, a man of rank, distinction and wealth,[a] had a manager who at your instigation was charged with conspiracy; and you took £600 from his owner, a transaction whose nature has recently been made clear in the sworn evidence of Eumenides himself. During the absence at Rome of the knight Gaius Matrinius, you got £6000 out of him by alleging that you had evidence incriminating his managers and shepherds. This has been stated by Lucius Flavius, who was in charge of the affairs of Matrinius and paid you the sum mentioned; it has been stated by Matrinius himself; and it will be stated by our illustrious censor Gnaeus Lentulus, who out of regard for Matrinius wrote to you at an early stage of the affair and caused others to write as well.

Then there is the case of Apollonius of Panhormus, 16 the son of Diocles, surnamed Geminus: this cannot be passed over. I could not put before you any case

hoc tota Sicilia clarius, ecquid indignius, ecquid manifestius proferri potest? Quem, ut Panhormum venit, ad se vocari et de tribunali citari iussit concursu magno frequentiaque conventus. Homines statim loqui: "Mirabar quod Apollonius, homo pecuniosus, tam diu ab isto maneret integer; excogitavit nescio quid, attulit; profecto homo dives repente a Verre non sine causa citatur." Exspectatio summa hominum quidnam id esset, cum exanimatus subito ipse accurrit cum adulescente filio; nam pater grandis
17 natu iam diu lecto tenebatur. Nominat iste servum, quem magistrum pecoris esse diceret; eum dicit coniurasse et familias concitasse. Is omnino servus in familia non erat. Eum statim exhiberi iubet. Apollonius affirmare se omnino nomine illo servum habere neminem. Iste hominem abripi a tribunali et in carcerem conici iubet. Clamare ille, cum raperetur, nihil se miserum fecisse, nihil commisisse, pecuniam sibi esse in nominibus, numeratam in praesentia non habere. Haec cum maxime summa hominum frequentia testificaretur, ut quivis intellegere posset eum, quod pecuniam non dedisset, idcirco illa tam acerba iniuria affici—cum maxime, ut dico, hoc de pecunia clamaret, in vincla coniectus est.

[a] Or possibly "of the people in the district."

the facts of which are more notorious throughout Sicily, or more shameful, or more unmistakable. Upon reaching Panhormus, Verres sent for him—issued, indeed, an official summons against him, in the hearing of a large and crowded gathering of the Roman community.[a] At once people began to talk like this: "I was wondering how a well-to-do man like Apollonius had escaped our friend yonder so long; he has thought out some scheme or other, and got it going; it certainly means something when Verres suddenly issues a summons against a rich man." Everyone was waiting anxiously to know what was afoot, when Apollonius suddenly hurried in, breathless with anxiety, and accompanied by a young man who was his son—his old father had been bedridden for some time. Verres named a slave who was, 17
he said, Apollonius's head shepherd, and alleged that he had formed a conspiracy and had been stirring up the slaves on various estates. There was in fact no such slave at all on the estate of Apollonius. Verres, however, ordered him to be produced; and when Apollonius insisted that he had no slave at all of that name, Verres gave orders to run him out of the court and throw him into prison. As they were hurrying him off, the poor wretch kept crying out that he was innocent, that he had done no wrong, that all his money was invested and he had no ready cash available. It was just when he was proclaiming this fact in the hearing of a large crowd, so that anyone could see that this cruel wrong was being done to him simply because he would not pay up—it was, I say, just when he was calling out thus about his money that he was thrown into prison.

18 VIII Videte constantiam praetoris, et eius praetoris qui in his rebus non ita defendatur ut mediocris praetor, sed ita laudetur ut optimus imperator. Cum servorum bellum metueretur, quo supplicio dominos indemnatos afficiebat, hoc servos damnatos liberabat; Apollonium, hominem locupletissimum, qui, si fugitivi bellum in Sicilia facerent, amplissimas fortunas amitteret, belli fugitivorum nomine indicta causa in vincla coniecit; servos, quos ipse de consilii sententia belli faciendi causa consensisse iudicavit, eos sine consilii sententia sua sponte omni supplicio liberavit.
19 Quid? si aliquid ab Apollonio commissum est quam ob rem in eum iure animadverteretur, tamenne hanc rem sic agemus ut crimini aut invidiae reo putemus esse oportere si quo de homine severius iudicaverit? Non agam tam acerbe, non utar ista accusatoria consuetudine, si quid est factum clementer, ut dissolute factum criminer, si quid vindicatum est severe, ut ex eo crudelitatis invidiam colligam. Non agam ista ratione; tua sequar iudicia, tuam defendam auctoritatem, quoad tu voles: simul ac tute coeperis tua iudicia rescindere, mihi suscensere desinito; meo iure enim contendam eum qui suo iudicio damnatus sit iuratorum iudicum sententiis damnari oportere.

VIII. Observe the consistent firmness of our 18
governor, remembering that in these matters he is not merely being defended as a governor of average merit, but eulogized as a great military commander. Amid the fears of a slave rising, he inflicted upon slave-owners who had not been found guilty the penalties from which he exempted slaves who had. Apollonius was a wealthy man, who would lose his great wealth if a slave rebellion took place in Sicily: yet Verres charged Apollonius with complicity in a slave rebellion, and flung him into prison without a trial. He had himself, with the support of his assessors, pronounced those slaves guilty of conspiring with intent to rebel: yet of his own accord, with no support from his assessors, he gave those slaves complete exemption from punishment. But 19
further: we may be asked, supposing Apollonius to have done something for which he deserved to be punished, whether we mean nevertheless so to deal with this matter as to hold it a proper charge against Verres, or a proper ground for ill-will towards him, that he sentenced a man with undue severity. No; I will not be so sharp with him; I will not adopt the prosecutor's well-known custom of denouncing any piece of clemency as a piece of laxity, while exciting ill-will by trying to prove cruelty wherever justice has not been tempered with mercy. That is not the line that I shall take. I will accept your sentences, Verres, and declare you as infallible as you please; but when you proceed to annul your own sentences yourself, you must cease to resent my words; for I am fully entitled to argue that a man who has pronounced himself guilty should be pronounced guilty by the solemn verdict of this Court. I will not let 20

20 Non defendam Apollonii causam, amici atque hospitis mei, ne tuum iudicium videar rescindere; nihil de hominis frugalitate, virtute, diligentia dicam; praetermittam illud etiam de quo ante dixi, fortunas eius ita constitutas fuisse familia, pecore, villis, pecuniis creditis, ut nemini minus expediret ullum in Sicilia tumultum aut bellum commoveri; non dicam ne illud quidem, si maxime in culpa fuerit Apollonius, tamen in hominem honestissimae[1] civitatis honestissimum tam graviter animadverti causa indicta non
21 oportuisse. Nullam in te invidiam ne ex illis quidem rebus concitabo, cum esset talis vir in carcere, in tenebris, in squalore, in sordibus, tyrannicis interdictis tuis patri exacta aetate et adulescenti filio adeundi ad illum miserum potestatem numquam esse factam. Etiam illud praeteribo, quotienscumque Panhormum veneris illo anno et sex mensibus—nam tam diu fuit Apollonius in carcere—totiens te senatum Panhormitanum adisse supplicem, cum magistratibus sacerdotibusque publicis, orantem atque obsecrantem ut aliquando ille miser atque innocens calamitate illa liberaretur. Relinquo haec omnia; quae si velim persequi, facile ostendam tua crudelitate in alios omnes tibi aditus misericordiae iudicum
22 iam pridem esse praeclusos. IX. Omnia tibi ista concedam et remittam; provideo enim quid sit defensurus Hortensius; fatebitur apud istum neque senectutem patris neque adulescentiam filii neque

[1] honestissimae *some good MSS.*; *others* honestissimae maximae: *some editors would read* maximae.

myself seem eager to annul your sentence against Apollonius, by pleading the cause of my friend and entertainer. I will say nothing about his honesty, his excellence, his industry. I will also pass over the fact of which I have already spoken—that his fortunes were invested in labourers, live-stock, farmhouses and loans to others, in such a way that no man stood to lose more by any outbreak of rebellion or war in Sicily. I will not even argue that, however greatly Apollonius may have been to blame, yet so honourable a member of so honourable a community should not have been sentenced without trial
to undergo so heavy a punishment. Nor will I seek 21
to stimulate resentment against you by telling how, while this worthy man was lying a ragged prisoner in a dark and dirty prison, your tyrannical prohibitions prevented the poor fellow's ever being visited by his aged father and his youthful son. I will also pass over the fact that, whenever you appeared at Panhormus during the eighteen months that Apollonius spent in prison, the senate of Panhormus, with the magistrates and priests of the city, waited upon you with the humble and earnest petition that this innocent and unhappy man might at last be delivered out of his affliction. All these things shall go unsaid: and yet, if I chose to dwell upon them, I might easily show how your own merciless treatment of other men has altogether debarred this Court from showing any mercy to yourself.
IX. I will not urge or insist upon any of these argu- 22
ments against you; for I foresee the reply that Hortensius means to make to them on your behalf.—He will tell you, gentlemen, that in Verres' eyes, the age of the father, the youth of the son, the tears of them

lacrimas utriusque plus valuisse quam utilitatem salutemque provinciae; dicet rem publicam administrari sine metu ac severitate non posse; quaeret quam ob rem fasces praetoribus praeferantur, cur secures datae, cur carcer aedificatus, cur tot supplicia sint in improbos more maiorum constituta. Quae cum omnia graviter severeque dixerit, quaeram cur hunc eundem Apollonium Verres idem repente nulla re nova allata, nulla defensione, sine causa de carcere emitti iusserit; tantumque in hoc crimine suspicionis esse affirmabo ut iam ipsis iudicibus sine mea argumentatione coniecturam facere permittam quod hoc genus praedandi, quam improbum, quam indignum quamque ad magnitudinem quaestus immensum in-
23 finitumque esse videatur. Nam quae iste in Apollonio fecit, ea primum breviter cognoscite quot et quanta sint, deinde haec expendite atque aestimate pecunia; reperietis idcirco haec in uno homine pecunioso tot constituta ut ceteris formidines similium incommodorum atque exempla periculorum proponeret. Primum insimulatio est repentina capitalis atque invidiosi criminis—statuite quanti hoc putetis et quam multos redemisse. Deinde crimen sine accusatore, sententia sine consilio, damnatio sine defensione—

both, were of less account than the welfare and safety of his province; he will declare that intimidation and severity are indispensable parts of government; why, he will ask you, are the rods borne before our governors, why are the axes assigned them, why have prisons been built, why are the manifold penalties for evil-doers a fixed part of our traditions? But when, in austere and impressive tones, he has said all this, I will ask him a question: Why, with no new fact adduced, no further plea submitted, no just reason given, did this same Verres suddenly order this same Apollonius to be released from prison? And I will affirm that the circumstantial evidence in this charge is so strong that I may now allow the members of this Court, without listening to any arguments of my own, to infer for themselves what method of robbery was here employed, how vicious and how shameful a method it is, and how boundless, how endless, are the opportunities of vast enrichment that it furnishes. I would have you first consider 23
briefly the number and the magnitude of the several features in the man's ill-treatment of Apollonius, and then to reckon up their value in terms of money. You will find that they were all deliberately employed in the case of a single wealthy man, in order to terrify all the others with the prospect of similar miseries, and to put before them illustrations of the dangers that threatened them. The first feature is the sudden allegation of what is at once a capital and a detestable offence: compute the probable sums paid, and the number of persons who paid them, to escape from this. Next, we have the accusation brought by no prosecutor, the verdict pronounced by no court, the condemnation preceded by no defence:

aestimate harum omnium rerum pretia, et cogitate in his iniquitatibus unum haesisse Apollonium, ceteros profecto multos ex his incommodis pecunia se liberasse. Postremo tenebrae, vincla, carcer, inclusum supplicium atque a conspectu parentium ac liberum, denique a libero spiritu atque a communi luce seclusum—haec vero, quae vel vita redimi recte possunt,
24 aestimare pecunia non queo. Haec omnia sero redemit Apollonius iam maerore ac miseriis perditus, sed tamen ceteros docuit ante istius avaritiae scelerique occurrere; nisi vero existimatis hominem pecuniosissimum sine causa quaestus electum ad tam incredibile crimen aut sine eadem causa repente e carcere emissum, aut hoc praedandi genus ab isto in illo uno adhibitum ac temptatum, et non per illum omnibus pecuniosis Siculis metum propositum et iniectum.

25 X. Cupio mihi ab illo,[1] iudices, subici, quoniam de militari eius gloria dico, si quid forte praetereo. Nam mihi videor iam de omnibus rebus eius gestis dixisse, quae quidem ad belli fugitivorum suspicionem pertinerent; certe nihil sciens praetermisi. Habetis hominis consilia, diligentiam, vigilantiam, custodiam defensionemque provinciae. Summa illuc pertinet, ut sciatis, quoniam plura genera sunt imperatorum, ex

[1] illo *all MSS., probably rightly: most editors* ipso.

calculate the money value of all these circumstances, and reflect that while Apollonius was the one actual victim of these outrages, the others, who bought freedom from such injuries, were assuredly numerous. Lastly there is the darkness—the chains—the prison—the tortures of being shut up, of being shut off from the sight of parent and child, nay, from drawing free breath and looking upon the common light of day: from such evils escape may well be bought with life itself—I cannot assess them in terms of money. From all these horrors Apollonius did at long last 24
buy his escape, by now a tortured and miserable wreck; not, however, before teaching the others to make terms beforehand with this scoundrel's cupidity; or will you suppose that any motive but gain selected that wealthy man to be the object of so incredible a charge, or that any other motive but this suddenly released him from his prison, or that this method of robbery was merely tried and applied in the case of that single man, and that he was not made the means of intimidating and terrifying every wealthy man in Sicily?

X. I hope, gentlemen, that our illustrious friend, 25
while I am on the subject of his eminent military services, will remind me of any that I may fail to mention. I believe, however, that I have now given you the complete story of his achievements, so far, at least, as they had to do with the supposed indications of a slave rising: I have certainly passed over none of them knowingly. The prudence, the care, the watchfulness, with which he looked after and protected his province, have been put before you. There are various types of military leaders; and my general purpose has been to inform you of the type to which

quo genere iste sit, ne qui diutius in tanta penuria virorum fortium talem imperatorem ignorare possit. Non ad Q. Maximi sapientiam, neque ad illius superioris Africani in re gerunda celeritatem, neque ad huius qui postea fuit singulare consilium, neque ad Pauli rationem ac disciplinam, neque ad C. Marii vim atque virtutem; sed aliud genus imperatoris sane diligenter retinendum et conservandum, quaeso, cognoscite.

26 Itinerum primum laborem, qui vel maximus est in re militari, iudices, et in Sicilia maxime necessarius, accipite quam facilem sibi iste et iucundum ratione consilioque reddiderit. Primum temporibus hibernis ad magnitudinem frigorum et tempestatum vim ac fluminum praeclarum hoc sibi remedium compararat. Urbem Syracusas elegerat, cuius hic situs atque haec natura esse loci caelique dicitur ut nullus umquam dies tam magna ac turbulenta tempestate fuerit quin aliquo tempore eius diei solem homines viderint. Hic ita vivebat iste bonus imperator hibernis mensibus ut eum non facile non modo extra tectum, sed ne extra lectum quidem quisquam videret; ita diei brevitas conviviis, noctis longitudo stupris et flagitiis continebatur.

27 Cum autem ver esse coeperat, cuius initium iste non a Favonio neque ab aliquo astro notabat, sed cum rosam viderat, tum incipere ver arbitrabatur, dabat se labori atque itineribus; in quibus eo usque se prae-

[a] *i.e.*, his information was got from the decorations available for dinner.

Verres belongs; in view of the present dearth of great soldiers, I would ensure the universal recognition of his remarkable qualities. They are not modelled upon the sagacity of Quintus Maximus, nor the swift activity of the elder Africanus, nor the unique resourcefulness of the younger Africanus, nor the methodical intelligence of Paulus, nor the fiery courage of Gaius Marius. I have, with your permission, to describe to you a different kind of military leader, a kind that we must surely take care to keep safely at our disposal.

To speak first of the laborious duty of making journeys, the most laborious of all a military governor's duties, and in Sicily the most essential, let me tell you how his intelligence and good sense rendered it easy and agreeable for him. To begin with, during the winter he made the following admirable arrangement for dealing with severe cold and the violence of storms and flooded rivers. He selected the city of Syracuse, whose position, surroundings and climate are said to be such that even during the most violent and stormy weather no day has ever passed without the sun's having been at some time visible. Here this excellent commander of our forces spent his winters in such a fashion that it was not easy for anyone to see him out of doors or even out of bed: the short days were passed in continual feasting, and the long nights in continual debaucheries and immorality. 26

When spring began, whose coming was marked for him by no zephyr or constellation, for it was when he saw the first rose that he recognized spring's arrival,[a] then he betook himself to the toilsome work of travelling, wherein he showed himself so hardy and 27

bebat patientem atque impigrum ut eum nemo umquam in equo sedentem viderit. XI. Nam, ut mos fuit Bithyniae regibus, lectica octaphoro ferebatur, in qua pulvinus erat perlucidus Melitensis rosa fartus; ipse autem coronam habebat unam in capite, alteram in collo, reticulumque ad nares sibi admovebat tenuissimo lino, minutis maculis, plenum rosae. Sic confecto itinere cum ad aliquod oppidum venerat, eadem lectica usque in cubiculum deferebatur. Eo veniebant Siculorum magistratus, veniebant equites Romani, id quod ex multis iuratis audistis; controversiae secreto deferebantur, paulo post palam decreta auferebantur. Deinde, ubi paulisper in cubiculo pretio, non aequitate iura discripserat, Veneri iam et Libero reliquum tem-
28 pus deberi arbitrabatur. Quo loco non mihi praetermittenda videtur praeclari imperatoris egregia ac singularis diligentia. Nam scitote oppidum esse in Sicilia nullum ex iis oppidis in quibus consistere praetores et conventum agere soleant, quo in oppido non isti ex aliqua familia non ignobili delecta ad libidinem mulier esset. Itaque non nullae ex eo numero in convivium adhibebantur palam; si quae castiores erant, ad tempus veniebant, lucem conventumque vitabant. Erant autem convivia non illo silentio praetorum populi Romani atque imperatorum, neque

active that no one ever saw him on horseback. XI. No; following the custom of the old kings of Bithynia, he rode in a litter carried by eight bearers, which contained a cushion of transparent Maltese embroidery stuffed with rose-leaves, he himself wearing one garland on his head and another round his neck, and putting to his nostrils a fine-meshed bag of delicate linen gauze stuffed with rose petals. Whenever, his journey thus effected, he reached a town, he would be carried, in this same litter, direct to his bed-chamber. To this apartment Sicilian magistrates, to this apartment Roman knights betook themselves—you have heard many witnesses swear to the truth of this. Legal controversies were there brought before him privately, and shortly afterwards his decisions were brought away from him openly. Having thus briefly administered the law in his bedroom for an hour or two on principles more profitable than equitable, he felt it his duty to devote the rest of the day to the service of Venus and Bacchus.
And I think it proper to mention the exceptional, 28
the unparalleled thoroughness displayed in this connexion by our illustrious commander. You must know that, among all the towns in Sicily where it is customary for governors to stay and to hold assizes, there is no single town in which some woman belonging to some respectable family was not selected for the gratification of his lust. Some of these were openly brought to his dinner-table: the less abandoned ones came later at an appointed hour, avoiding the daylight and the society of his guests. Nor were his dinner-parties the quiet gatherings proper for a Roman governor and commander, nor had they the decency normally maintained at the tables of our

eo pudore qui in magistratuum conviviis versari solet, sed cum maximo clamore atque convicio; non numquam etiam res ad pugnam atque ad manus vocabatur. Iste enim praetor severus ac diligens, qui populi Romani legibus numquam paruisset, illis legibus quae in poculis ponebantur diligenter obtemperabat. Itaque erant exitus eius modi ut alius inter manus e convivio tamquam e proelio auferretur, alius tamquam occisus relinqueretur, plerique ut fusi sine mente ac sine ullo sensu iacerent, ut quivis, cum aspexisset, non se praetoris convivium, sed Cannensem pugnam nequitiae videre arbitraretur.

29 XII. Cum vero aestas summa esse coeperat, quod tempus omnes Siciliae semper praetores in itineribus consumere consuerunt, propterea quod tum putant obeundam esse maxime provinciam, cum in areis frumenta sunt, quod et familiae congregantur et magnitudo servitii perspicitur et labor operis maxime offendit, frumenti copia commonet, tempus anni non impedit: tum, inquam, cum concursant ceteri praetores, iste novo quodam genere imperator pulcherrimo Syracusarum loco stativa sibi castra faciebat.

30 Nam in ipso aditu atque ore portus, ubi primum ex alto sinus ab litore ad urbem inflectitur, tabernacula carbaseis intenta velis collocabat. Huc ex illa domo praetoria, quae regis Hieronis fuit, sic emigrabat ut eum per illos dies nemo extra illum locum videre

[a] Or possibly "and their hard work most irritates them."

magistrates: they were celebrated with loud shouts and cries of abuse, and sometimes things would go as far as an actual hand-to-hand fight. For this strict and thorough governor of ours, who never in his life obeyed the laws of Rome, was none the less most careful to observe all the laws prescribed for the drinking of wine; which led to such final scenes that one man would be carried away from the party, as though from a battlefield, in other people's arms, another would be left there for dead, and most of them would be lying about the place fuddled and unconscious: so that any spectator would have thought he had been looking on not at a governor's dinner-party but at some disastrous battle between two gangs of ruffians.

XII. As soon as midsummer arrived, a season 29 which it is always the practice of all Sicilian governors to spend in travelling about, because they hold that the most important time for inspecting their province is the time when the grain is on the threshing-floors, since the hands are then gathered together, the number of the slaves can be reckoned, and their labours most easily catch the eye[a]; besides which, the abundance of corn invites travel and the weather does not hinder it:—at this season, I repeat, when all other governors move actively about, this new variety of military commander used to pitch a fixed camp for himself in the loveliest part of Syracuse. At the very entrance of the harbour, where the bay 30 begins to run in from the open coast towards the city, he set up a number of pavilions, made of linen canvas stretched on poles. From the governor's residence, once King Hiero's palace, he moved house to this new spot so completely that during these periods nobody

posset. In eum autem ipsum locum aditus erat nemini, nisi qui aut socius aut minister libidinis esse posset. Huc omnes mulieres quibuscum iste consuerat conveniebant, quarum incredibile est quanta multitudo fuerit Syracusis ; huc homines digni istius amicitia, digni vita illa conviviisque veniebant. Inter eius modi viros et mulieres adulta aetate filius versabatur, ut eum, etiamsi natura a parentis similitudine abriperet, consuetudo tamen ac disciplina patris si-
31 milem esse cogeret. Huc Tertia illa perducta per dolum atque insidias ab Rhodio tibicine maximas in istius castris effecisse dicitur turbas, cum indigne pateretur uxor Cleomenis Syracusani, nobilis mulier, itemque uxor Aeschrionis, honesto loco nata, in conventum suum mimi Isidori filiam venisse. Iste autem Hannibal, qui in suis castris virtute putaret oportere non genere certari, sic hanc Tertiam dilexit ut eam secum ex provincia deportaret. XIII. Ac per eos dies, cum iste cum pallio purpureo talarique tunica versaretur in conviviis muliebribus, non offendebantur homines neque moleste ferebant abesse a foro magistratum, non ius dici, non iudicia fieri ; locum illum litoris percrepare totum mulierum vocibus cantuque symphoniae, in foro silentium esse summum causarum atque iuris, non ferebant homines moleste ; non enim

[a] See Book iii. § 78. The "crafty trick" was her *deductio* to Docimus, really for Verres' own use, not her *abductio* from her *tibicen*, which was forcible (*vi abductam*).

[b] Ennius makes Hannibal say " He who strikes down his foe, Whoever he be, for me shall be accounted A son of Carthage."

could ever see him outside it. Nor was anyone allowed inside the place itself except those qualified to share or minister to his vices. Hither came all the women with whom he had associated—and the number of these at Syracuse is beyond belief ; hither came the persons worthy to be Verres' friends, and to share in the life and the revels of a place like that. Such were the men, such were the women, with whom Verres' son, now no longer a child, would spend his days : even if his nature should urge him to be unlike his parent, the compulsion of habit and training were to make him the true son of his father. The 31
bringing there of that woman Tertia,[a] after the crafty trick of her abduction from her Rhodian flute-player, is said to have caused a serious upheaval in Verres' camp, as the wife of Cleomenes of Syracuse, being a lady of rank, and also the wife of Aeschrio, who came of a good family, resented the addition to their society of a daughter of Isidorus the ballet-dancer. But this Hannibal[b] of ours, holding that in *his* camp promotion should be by merit and not by birth, became so much attached to this woman Tertia that he took her off with him when he left his province. XIII. Now during all those weeks, while he spent his time, dressed in a purple Greek cloak and a long-skirted tunic, revelling with his women, no irritation or discontent was felt at the absence of the chief magistrate from the forum, the giving of no legal decisions, the hearing of no cases in court. That place on the coast might resound everywhere with women's voices and the strains of band music, while in the market-place the voices of litigant and judge were completely hushed. But this caused no discontent. Men felt that what was gone from the

ius abesse videbatur a foro neque iudicia, sed vis et crudelitas et bonorum acerba et indigna direptio.

32 Hunc tu igitur imperatorem esse defendis, Hortensi? huius furta, rapinas, cupiditatem, crudelitatem, superbiam, scelus, audaciam, rerum gestarum magnitudine atque imperatoriis laudibus tegere conaris? Hic scilicet est metuendum ne ad exitum defensionis tuae vetus illa Antoniana dicendi ratio atque auctoritas proferatur, ne excitetur Verres, ne denudetur a pectore, ne cicatrices populus Romanus aspiciat, ex mulierum morsu vestigia libidinis atque
33 nequitiae. Di faciant ut rei militaris, ut belli mentionem facere audeas! Cognoscentur enim omnia istius aera illa vetera, ut non solum in imperio verum etiam in stipendiis qualis fuerit intellegatis. Renovabitur prima illa militia, cum iste e foro abduci, non, ut ipse praedicat, perduci solebat; aleatoris Placentini castra commemorabuntur, in quibus cum frequens fuisset, tamen aere dirutus est; multa eius in stipendiis damna proferentur, quae ab isto aetatis fructu
34 dissoluta et compensata sunt. Iam vero, cum in eius modi patientia turpitudinis aliena, non sua, satietate obduruisset, qui vir fuerit, quot praesidia, quam munita pudoris et pudicitiae vi et audacia ceperit,

[a] Or perhaps "not, as he declares, to the door of his lodgings, but to the embraces of a lover." The meaning of *perduci* is very doubtful: *reduci* or *deduci*, "to be escorted home," would be easy, but there are no variants in the MSS.

market-place was neither magistrate nor judge, but violence and savagery and the cruel and unmerited plundering of their property.

Do you, then, Hortensius, plead that such a man 32
as this was a great military leader? do you seek to screen his thefts and robberies, his greed and cruelty, his arrogance and impudence and wickedness, with eulogies of his great deeds and his fame as a commander? Are we now to fear, as your speech for the defence nears its close, that you will bring into play the impressive methods of argument used of old by Antonius? will you bid Verres stand up, bare his breast, show the people of Rome his scars—scars made by women's teeth, the imprinted records of lechery and foulness? Most devoutly do I hope that 33
you will dare to speak of war and military service.—If he does, gentlemen, the facts of all those former campaigns of Verres shall be put before you: you shall learn how he behaved not only as a commander but when he was serving under others. The story of his earliest engagements shall be told again, the story of the days when he would be led from the Forum, not, as he declares, to the embraces of a mistress, but to those of a lover.[a] You shall hear again of the gambling-den at Placentia, where he appeared so regularly for duty and was docked of his pay notwithstanding. Mention shall be made of his frequent financial losses during his campaigns, and how he paid off his debtors with his youthful charms. And then, 34
when he had grown callous by submitting to such foulness till others, though not himself, had had their fill of it, his behaviour as a grown man, and the number of strong castles of modesty and chastity stormed by his reckless violence—is it for me to

quid me attinet dicere aut coniungere cum istius flagitio cuiusquam praeterea dedecus? Non faciam, iudices; omnia vetera praetermittam, duo sola recentia sine cuiusquam infamia ponam, ex quibus coniecturam facere de omnibus possitis: unum illud, quod ita fuit illustre notumque omnibus ut nemo tam rusticanus homo L. Lucullo M. Cotta consulibus Romam ex ullo municipio vadimonii causa venerit, quin sciret iura omnia praetoris urbani nutu atque arbitrio Chelidonis meretriculae gubernari: alterum quod, cum paludatus exisset votaque pro imperio suo communique re publica nuncupasset, noctu stupri causa lectica in urbem introferri solitus est ad mulierem nuptam uni, propositam omnibus, contra fas, contra auspicia, contra omnes divinas atque humanas religiones.

35 XIV. O di immortales! quid interest inter mentes hominum et cogitationes! Ita mihi meam voluntatem spemque reliquae vitae vestra populique Romani existimatio comprobet, ut ego, quos adhuc mihi magistratus populus Romanus mandavit, sic eos accepi ut me omnium officiorum obstringi religione arbitrarer! Ita quaestor sum factus ut mihi illum honorem tum non solum datum sed etiam creditum et commissum putarem; sic obtinui quaesturam in Sicilia provincia ut omnium oculos in me unum

[a] The year (74 B.C.) of Verres' urban praetorship.

speak of this, or to combine the tale of his wickedness with the tale of any other person's shame? No, gentlemen, it is not: I will pass over all that happened earlier, and merely put before you, without bringing discredit upon anyone, two recent matters, from which you may infer all the rest of the story. One is a fact so notorious, so well known to everyone, that during the consulship of Lucullus and Cotta[a] not even the simplest rustic from the remotest provincial town came to Rome, in connexion with any case heard in the law-courts, without learning that all the decisions pronounced by the city praetor were controlled by the goodwill and pleasure of that courtesan Chelidon. The other is that, having already left the city in his commander's cloak, and already made the vows on behalf of his term of office and the general welfare of his country, he repeatedly had himself carried back into the city after nightfall in a litter, to gratify his adulterous passion for a woman who was one man's wife but at all men's service; thus violating the law of God, violating the auspices, violating every principle of religion and morality.

XIV. The contrast between the dispositions and 35
reflections of different men is a truly remarkable thing! For my own part, may I forfeit your approval, and the nation's approval, of my ambitions and my hopes for the future, if I have not, in entering upon the offices which the nation has hitherto entrusted to me, felt myself constrained to the conscientious performance of all my duties. My election as quaestor meant for me that the office was not only conferred upon me but committed and entrusted to me. While I carried out my duties of quaestor in the province of Sicily, I felt all men's eyes

coniectos esse arbitrarer, ut me quaesturamque meam quasi in aliquo terrarum orbis theatro versari existimarem, ut semper omnia quae iucunda videntur esse, ea non modo his extraordinariis cupiditatibus sed
36 etiam ipsi naturae ac necessitati denegarem. Nunc sum designatus aedilis; habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim; mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cura et caerimonia Cereri Libero Liberaeque faciundos, mihi Floram matrem populo plebique Romanae ludorum celebritate placandam, mihi ludos antiquissimos, qui primi Romani appellati sunt, cum dignitate maxima et religione Iovi Iunoni Minervaeque esse faciundos, mihi sacrarum aedium procurationem, mihi totam urbem tuendam esse commissam; ob earum rerum laborem et sollicitudinem fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiae dicendae locum, togam praetextam, sellam curulem, ius ima-
37 ginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae. Ex his ego omnibus rebus, iudices, ita mihi omnes deos propitios velim ut, tametsi[1] mihi iucundissimus est honos populi, tamen nequaquam capio tantum voluptatis quantum et sollicitudinis et laboris, ut haec ipsa aedilitas non quia necesse fuerit alicui candidato data, sed quia sic oportuerit recte collocata et iudicio populi in loco esse posita videatur.

38 XV. Tu cum esses praetor renuntiatus quoquo modo—mitto enim et praetereo, quid tum sit actum—

[1] etiamsi (*without* ut) *Peterson, with good MS. support.*

directed upon me and me only; I fancied myself and my office staged in a theatre where all the world was audience; I refused all the accepted methods of gratifying not only the abnormal passions but even the most natural and inevitable desires.
I am now an aedile elect; and I understand the 36
position in which the nation's will has placed me. With the utmost diligence and solemnity I am to celebrate the holy festival of Ceres, Liber and Libera. By holding the solemn festival of our Lady Flora I am to secure her favour for the people and commons of Rome. In the most worthy and devout fashion, I am to perform the most ancient festival, the earliest to bear the name of "Roman," in honour of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. I have been made responsible for the safeguarding of our sacred edifices, and for the protection of the whole of our city. In return for the labour and anxiety which these duties entail, I have received certain privileges: priority of speech in the Senate, the purple-bordered toga, the curule chair, the right of leaving my portrait as a memorial of me to those who follow me. And in 37
view of all these things I declare to you, gentlemen, as I hope for the favour of all the gods in heaven, that, delightful to me as my attainment of this public office is, my pleasure in it is far less than the burden of my anxious desire that men should think of this same office as not given to me because it must needs be given to one or other of those who sought it, but as rightly assigned to the right man, and by the nation's deliberate judgement bestowed in the proper quarter.

XV. But you, Verres? When your election as 38
praetor was declared, however it had been effected—

sed cum esses renuntiatus, ut dixi, non ipsa praeconis voce excitatus es, qui te totiens seniorum iuniorumque centuriis illo honore affici pronuntiavit, ut hoc putares, aliquam rei publicae partem tibi creditam, annum tibi illum unum domo carendum esse meretricis? cum tibi sorte obtigisset uti ius diceres, quantum negotii, quid oneris haberes, numquam cogitasti? neque illud rationis habuisti, si forte expergefacere te posses, eam provinciam, quam tueri singulari sapientia atque integritate difficile esset, ad summam stultitiam nequitiamque venisse? Itaque non modo a domo tua Chelidonem in praetura excludere noluisti, sed in
39 Chelidonis domum praeturam totam detulisti. Secuta provincia est; in qua numquam tibi venit in mentem non tibi idcirco fasces ac secures et tantam imperii vim tantamque ornamentorum omnium dignitatem datam ut earum rerum vi et auctoritate omnia repagula pudoris officiique perfringeres, ut omnium bona praedam tuam duceres, ut nullius res tuta, nullius domus clausa, nullius vita saepta, nullius pudicitia munita contra tuam cupiditatem et audaciam posset esse; in qua tu te ita gessisti ut, omnibus cum teneare rebus, ad bellum fugitivorum confugias. Ex quo iam intellegis non modo nullam tibi defensionem, sed

I pass over in silence the story of what happened then—but when, as I say, your election was declared, did not the very sound of the crier's voice, as he announced your endowment with that high office by the votes of all those senior and junior divisions of the electors, arouse in you the feeling that you had been entrusted with a share in the government of your country, and for that one year must cease to frequent a harlot's dwelling? When the lot gave you the duty of administering the law, did you never reflect how troublesome, how burdensome this duty was, nor consider—if it were possible for you so far to come to your senses—that functions hard enough to discharge with the help of exceptional wisdom and integrity had been assigned to the most foolish and corrupt of men? No; and so far from forbidding Chelidon your house during your year of office, you transferred your office bodily to the house of Chelidon.
Then came your provincial government, during which 39
it never crossed your mind that those rods and axes, that crushing weight of authority, that position of majestic splendour, were not given you in order that you might use their force and their authority to break through every barrier of decency or duty, or that you might treat all men's property as your prey, or that it might be impossible for anyone's possessions to be safe, anyone's house secure, anyone's life defended, or anyone's chastity guarded, against your cupidity and your unscrupulous wickedness. Such, throughout that period, has been your conduct that you must seek refuge, in this argument about a slave rebellion, from the conviction that your unqualified guilt ensures you. And now you are aware that this is so far from providing you a defence

maximam vim criminum exortam; nisi forte Italici fugitivorum belli reliquias atque illud Tempsanum incommodum proferes, ad quod recens cum te peropportune fortuna attulisset si quid in te virtutis aut industriae habuisses, idem qui semper fueras inventus
40 es. XVI. Cum ad te Valentini venissent et pro iis homo disertus ac nobilis, M. Marius, loqueretur, ut negotium susciperes, ut, cum penes te praetorium imperium ac nomen esset, ad illam parvam manum exstinguendam ducem te principemque praeberes, non modo id refugisti, sed eo ipso tempore, cum esses in litore, Tertia illa tua, quam tu tecum deportaras, erat in omnium conspectu; ipsis autem Valentinis ex tam illustri nobilique municipio tantis de rebus responsum dedisti, cum esses cum tunica pulla et pallio. Quid hunc proficiscentem, quid in ipsa provincia fecisse existimatis, qui, cum iam ex provincia non ad triumphum sed ad iudicium decederet, ne illam quidem infamiam fugerit quam sine ulla voluptate capie-
41 bat? O divina senatus frequentis in aede Bellonae admurmuratio! Memoria tenetis, iudices, cum advesperasceret, et paulo ante esset de hoc Tempsano incommodo nuntiatum, cum inveniretur nemo qui in illa loca cum imperio mitteretur, dixissetque quidam Verrem esse non longe a Tempsa, quam valde universi admurmuraverint, quam palam principes dixe-

[a] Nothing is known of this. Tempsa is in Bruttium. The suggestion seems to be that Verres, on his return journey, ran away from a situation of some slight danger, in spite of the appeal made to him by the people of Valentia.

[b] See p. 348 note *a*.

[c] Probably this refers to the second of the two pieces of misconduct mentioned in § 34.

that it is the source of a great multitude of charges against you. I presume that you will hardly mention the faint survivals of the slave war in Italy, or that unlucky reverse [a] at Tempsa: chance threw this in your way, giving you your opportunity, if there had been one spark of manhood or energy in you; but you proved yourself to be what you have always been.
XVI. A deputation from the town of Valentia 40
approached you, and its spokesman, a man of eloquence and high standing named Marcus Marius, asked you to deal with the situation: you had the authority and rank of praetor—would you not take the lead, and see to the destruction of that small band of men? Not only did you shirk this duty, but at that very time there you were on the sea-coast with that woman of yours, Tertia, whom you were taking off home with you, in full view of everyone; and when you gave your answer to the people of a town so famous and important as Valentia, you were wearing a dark tunic and a Greek cloak.[b]—You may easily conceive how the man behaved when leaving for his province [c] and when he was there, since you see him on his way home, not to receive a triumph but to face a trial, ready to disgrace himself even by conduct that could give him no pleasure. How admirably just 41
were those murmurs of dissent at that crowded meeting of the Senate in the temple of Bellona! You will remember, gentlemen, how, late in the afternoon, the news of the reverse at Tempsa having just been reported, we could think of no one possessing military authority whom we could send there, and someone observed that Verres was not far from Tempsa, and how universal the murmurs of protest were, and how openly our chief speakers opposed the suggestion.

rint contra. Et his tot criminibus testimoniisque convictus in eorum tabella spem sibi aliquam proponit, quorum omnium palam causa incognita voce damnatus est?

42 XVII. Esto, nihil ex fugitivorum bello aut suspicione belli laudis adeptus est, quod neque bellum eius modi neque belli periculum fuit in Sicilia, neque ab isto provisum est ne quod esset; at vero contra bellum praedonum classem habuit ornatam diligentiamque in eo singularem, itaque ab isto praeclare defensa provincia est. Sic de bello praedonum, sic de classe Siciliensi, iudices, dicam, ut hoc iam ante confirmem, in hoc uno genere omnes inesse culpas istius maximas, avaritiae, maiestatis, dementiae, libidinis, crudelitatis. Haec dum breviter expono, quaeso, ut fecistis adhuc, diligenter attendite.

43 Rem navalem primum ita dico esse administratam,
non uti provincia defenderetur, sed uti classis nomine
pecunia quaereretur. Superiorum praetorum con-
suetudo cum haec fuisset, ut naves civitatibus certus-
que numerus nautarum militumque imperaretur,
maximae et locupletissimae civitati Mamertinae nihil
horum imperavisti. Ob hanc rem quid tibi Mamer-
tini clam pecuniae dederint, post, si videbitur, ex
44 ipsorum litteris testibusque quaeremus. Navem vero
cybaeam maximam, triremis instar, pulcherrimam

And does a man convicted of all these crimes by all these witnesses rest any hopes on the voting-tablets of his judges, when their voices have all openly pronounced him guilty before his trial began?

XVII. Well, let it be granted that he has acquired 42
no credit from any revolt, or threatened revolt, among the slaves, because in Sicily there was no such revolt, nor was there any reason to fear one, nor did he take any steps to prevent one. But we shall be told that he has kept his fleet in good condition to fight the pirates; that he has given this matter exceptional attention; and that he has therefore provided admirably for the defence of his province. Gentlemen, what I have to tell you about the Sicilian fleet, and about its operations against the pirates, is of such a nature that I may assure you, at the outset, that in this one matter all his evil qualities are displayed at their worst—cupidity, treachery to his country, insane folly, wantonness and cruelty. I will ask you to give my brief statement of the facts the careful attention you have so far shown me.

I assert, in the first place, that naval affairs were 43
not administered for the defence of the province, but
to make money out of what was supposed to be spent
on the fleet.—Whereas it had been the regular prac-
tice of previous governors to require the towns to
furnish ships and a fixed number of sailors and
marines, you, Verres, exempted the great and
wealthy town of Messana from furnishing any. How
much the people of Messana secretly paid you for
doing so we will, if it seems desirable, ascertain pre-
sently from their own records and witnesses. I now 44
assert that a cargo-ship, a very large one, as big as a

atque ornatissimam, palam aedificatam sumptu publico tuo nomine, publice, sciente tota Sicilia, per magistratum senatumque Mamertinum tibi datam donatamque esse dico. Haec navis onusta praeda Siciliensi, cum ipsa quoque esset ex praeda, simul cum ipse decederet, appulsa Veliam est cum plurimis rebus, et iis quas iste Romam mittere cum ceteris furtis noluit, quod erant carissimae maximeque eum delectabant. Eam navem nuper egomet vidi Veliae multique alii viderunt, pulcherrimam atque ornatissimam, iudices; quae quidem omnibus qui eam aspexerant prospectare iam exsilium atque explorare fugam domini videbatur.

45 XVIII. Quid mihi hoc loco respondebis? nisi forte id quod, tametsi probari nullo modo potest, tamen dici quidem in iudicio de pecuniis repetundis necesse est, de tua pecunia aedificatam esse navem. Aude hoc saltem dicere quod necesse est; noli metuere, Hortensi, ne quaeram qui licuerit aedificare navem senatori; antiquae sunt istae leges et mortuae, quem ad modum tu soles dicere, quae vetant. Fuit ista res publica quondam, fuit ista severitas in iudiciis, ut istam rem accusator in magnis criminibus obiciendam putaret. Quid enim tibi navi? qui si quo publice proficisceris, praesidii et vecturae causa sumptu publico navigia praebentur; privatim autem nec proficisci quoquam potes nec arcessere res transmarinas

trireme, a splendid vessel most completely fitted out, was openly built at the town's expense for your benefit, and that, to the certain knowledge of all Sicily, this ship was officially given and presented to you by the chief magistrate and senate of Messana.—At the time when he was himself leaving the country, this ship, loaded with the plunder of Sicily, and indeed itself a part of that plunder, put in at Velia with its large cargo, including the objects that he would not send direct to Rome, because of their great value and his special attachment to them. I saw this ship myself at Velia not long ago, and many others besides have seen it; a splendid vessel, gentlemen, and most completely fitted out; and I may add that all who saw it felt that it was anticipating its owner's banishment and preparing the way for his flight into exile.—

XVIII. What answer will you make to me about this? Only, I presume, the answer which, totally unacceptable as it must be, must nevertheless at least be made by a man accused of extortion, namely, that the ship was built at your own expense. Come, say this at least, since say it you must.—Have no fear, Hortensius, of my asking what legal right a senator had to build a ship. The statutes forbidding it are ancient things, what you yourself often call "dead letters." There was a time when the state of public morals, there was a time when the strictness of our law-courts, ranked such an action among the most serious charges that a prosecutor could put forward. What need had you of a ship? For any official journey, vessels are provided at the public expense for your safe escort and conveyance: unofficially, you have no right to make journeys at all, nor to have 45

46 ex iis locis in quibus te habere nihil licet. Deinde cur quicquam contra leges parasti? Valeret hoc crimen in illa vetere severitate ac dignitate rei publicae: nunc non modo te hoc crimine non arguo, sed ne illa quidem communi vituperatione reprehendo: Tu tibi hoc numquam turpe, numquam criminosum, numquam invidiosum fore putasti, celeberrimo loco palam tibi aedificari onerariam navem in provincia quam tu cum imperio obtinebas? Quid eos loqui qui videbant, quid existimare eos qui audiebant arbitrabare? inanem te navem esse illam in Italiam adducturum? navicularium cum Romam venisses esse facturum? Ne illud quidem quisquam poterat suspicari, te in Italia maritimum habere fundum et ad fructus deportandos onerariam navem comparare. Eius modi voluisti de te sermonem esse omnium, palam ut loquerentur te illam navem parare quae praedam ex Sicilia deportaret et ad ea furta quae reliquisses commearet.
47 Verum haec omnia, si doces navem de tua pecunia aedificatam, remitto atque concedo. Sed hoc, homo amentissime, non intellegis priore actione ab ipsis istis Mamertinis, tuis laudatoribus, esse sublatum? Nam dixit Heius,[1] princeps istius legationis quae ad tuam laudationem missa est, navem tibi operis publicis Mamertinorum esse factam, eique faciendae senatorem

[1] *Here Peterson, with some MS. support, inserts* princeps civitatis.

property sent over sea for you from regions in which you are not allowed to own any. Why, then, in the 46
next place, did you break the law by acquiring any such property? This would have counted heavily against you in the fine old days when strict moral standards prevailed. To-day I do not put forward this as a charge against you; I do not even express the general feeling against you by attacking you thus—"Did you never think of the discredit, the danger, the dislike, you must incur by having a merchant vessel openly built for you at a populous centre in the province that you were governing?" What did you suppose those who saw it would say, or those who heard of it think? That you were going to take the ship to Italy empty? that you were going into the shipping business when you reached Rome? No one could even suppose that you had an estate on the Italian coast, and were providing yourself with a merchant-vessel for the export of your produce. You chose to make everyone talk about you in such a fashion that they said openly that you were getting this ship in order to export your plunder from Sicily in it, and to send it back again for such stolen property as you had left behind. All this, however, I am 47
ready to withdraw and forgo in your favour, if you can show that this ship was built at your own expense. But fool that you are, can you not understand that this was put out of your power in the first part of this trial by your friends and eulogists, the people of Messana themselves? Heius, the head of the deputation sent to pronounce the eulogy upon you, stated then that the ship had been built for you by workmen employed by Messana, and that a Messanian senator had been officially put in charge of

Mamertinum publice praefuisse. Reliqua est materies. Hanc Reginis, ut ipsi dicunt—tametsi tu negare non potes—publice, quod Mamertini materiem non habent, imperavisti. XIX. Si et ex quo fit navis et qui faciunt imperio tibi tuo, non pretio, praesto fuerunt, ubi tandem istud latet quod tu de tua pe-
48 cunia dicis impensum? At Mamertini in tabulis nihil habent. Primum video potuisse fieri ut ex aerario nihil darent; etenim vel Capitolium, sicut apud maiores nostros factum est, publice coactis fabris operisque imperatis gratiis exaedificari atque effici potuit; deinde—id quod perspicio et quod ostendam,[1] cum ipsos produxero, ipsorum ex litteris—multas pecunias isti erogatas in operum locationes falsas atque inanes esse perscriptas. Iam illud minime mirum est, Mamertinos a quo summum beneficium acceperant, quem sibi amiciorem quam populo Romano esse cognoverant, eius capiti litteris suis pepercisse. Sed si argumento est Mamertinos tibi pecuniam non dedisse, quia scriptum non habent, sit argumento tibi gratis stare navem, quia quid emeris aut quid locaris scriptum proferre non potes.

49 At enim idcirco navem Mamertinis non imperasti, quod sunt foederati. Di approbent! habemus ho-

[1] *To avoid the broken construction, Zumpt emends to* deinde perspicio, id quod ostendam, *etc.*

the building. There remains the timber. This, the Messanians having none, you officially ordered the town of Regium to supply, as its citizens themselves tell us—not that you could deny the fact in any case. XIX. Now if both the material to build the ship and the men who built it were procured by your official authority and not by your money, where, may I ask, are we to discover the expenditure that you tell us was met out of your own purse? It is argued that 48
nothing appears in the city accounts of Messana. But I observe, in the first place, that possibly no money was paid out of the city treasury: even with the Capitoline temple, as built in the days of our ancestors, it proved possible, by officially impressing masons and conscripting workmen, to construct and complete it for nothing. In the next place, as I perceive clearly, and as I shall prove, when I put the persons concerned in the witness-box, from their own accounts, large sums of money paid over to Verres were falsely entered as paid in connexion with contracts that never existed. Nor indeed is it at all wonderful that the Messanians should have kept out of their accounts entries that might ruin the man who had done them the utmost service, and whom they knew to be a better friend to themselves than he was to the Roman nation. In any case, if the Messanians' having no entry of any money paid to you is a proof that none was paid, your inability to produce any entry of any purchase or contract made by yourself must be a proof that the ship cost you nothing.

You tell us that your reason for not requiring the 49
Messanians to furnish a ship was that they have special treaty privileges. Oh, thank Heaven! here

minem in fetialium manibus educatum, unum praeter ceteros in publicis religionibus foederum sanctum ac diligentem; omnes qui ante te fuerunt praetores dedantur Mamertinis, quod iis navem contra pactionem foederis imperarint. Sed tamen tu, sancte homo ac religiose, cur Tauromenitanis item foederatis navem imperasti? An hoc probabis, in aequa causa populorum sine pretio varium ius et disparem condi-
50 cionem fuisse? Quid? si eius modi esse haec duo foedera duorum populorum, iudices, doceo, ut Tauromenitanis nominatim cautum et exceptum sit foedere ne navem dare debeant, Mamertinis in ipso foedere sanctum atque praescriptum sit ut navem dare necesse sit, istum autem contra foedus et Tauromenitanis imperasse et Mamertinis remisisse, num quid dubium poterit esse quin Verre praetore plus Mamertinis cybaea quam Tauromentianis foedus opitulatum sit? Recitentur foedera.

XX. Isto igitur tuo, quem ad modum ipse praedicas, beneficio, ut res indicat, pretio atque mercede, minuisti maiestatem rei publicae, minuisti auxilia populi Romani, minuisti copias maiorum virtute ac sapientia comparatas, sustulisti ius imperii, condicionem sociorum, memoriam foederis. Qui ex foedere

[a] The "college" of *fetiales* had from very ancient times been responsible for the correct wording of declarations of war and treaties of peace.

we have a trained expert in international law,[a] a man scrupulous and watchful above all other men to discharge our solemn national obligations in treaty matters. Let all the governors before you be surrendered for punishment to the Messanians, because they broke the terms of the treaty by requiring a ship of them. None the less, why did a man so scrupulous and conscientious as you are require a ship from the people of Tauromenium, who also have these treaty privileges? Will you make us believe that two communities with the same claims have been treated as if their rights were different, and their positions unequal, without money changing hands?—
And if I further prove, gentlemen, that the two 50
treaties of these two communities are of such a nature that the treaty with Tauromenium expressly provides for its exemption from the duty of furnishing a ship, whereas in the actual text of the treaty with Messana it is solemnly prescribed that a ship must be furnished, and that Verres broke both treaties by requiring a ship from Tauromenium and letting Messana off, will it be possible to doubt that the cargo-ship helped Messana more than the treaty helped Tauromenium, when Verres was governor of Sicily?—Let the text of the treaties be read aloud.

XX. Well, then, by this action of yours, which you yourself call a benefaction, but which the facts show to have been a piece of bribery and corruption, you have lowered the position of your country, lessened the resources of the Roman nation, weakened the forces procured for us by the valour and wisdom of our forefathers, annulled our imperial rights, the obligations of our allies and the observance of our treaty with them. By the actual terms of the treaty

ipso navem vel usque ad Oceanum, si imperassemus, sumptu periculoque suo armatam atque ornatam mittere debuerunt, ei ne in freto ante sua tecta et domos navigarent, ne sua moenia portusque defenderent, pretio abs te ius foederis et imperii condicionem red-
51 emerunt. Quid censetis in hoc foedere faciendo voluisse Mamertinos impendere laboris, operae, pecuniae, ne haec biremis adscriberetur, si id ullo modo possent a nostris maioribus impetrare? Nam cum hoc munus imponebatur tam grave civitati, inerat nescio quo modo in illo foedere societatis quasi quaedam nota servitutis. Quod tum, recentibus suis officiis, integra re, nullis populi Romani difficultatibus, a maioribus nostris foedere assequi non potuerunt, id nunc, nullo novo officio suo, tot annis post, iure imperii nostri quotannis usurpatum ac semper retentum, summa in difficultate navium, a C. Verre pretio assecuti sunt. Ac non hoc solum assecuti, ne navem darent: ecquem nautam, ecquem militem qui aut in classe aut in praesidio esset, te praetore per triennium Mamertini dederunt?

52 XXI. Denique cum ex senatus consulto itemque ex lege Terentia et Cassia frumentum aequabiliter emi ab omnibus Siciliae civitatibus oporteret, id quo-

[a] For the compulsory purchase of corn see Book iii. §§ 163-187.

they were bound to arm and equip that ship and dispatch it, if so ordered, even as far as the Atlantic Ocean, at their own cost and risk; and they bribed you to exempt them so completely from their obligations under the treaty and as our subjects that they might not even have to patrol the waters of the strait in front of their own roofs and homes, or to defend their own walls and harbours.—When this 51
treaty with the Messanians was being drawn up, think, gentlemen, how much trouble and toil and money they would gladly have devoted to escape having the clause about this bireme inserted, if it had been at all possible to secure this concession from our ancestors; the imposition of so heavy a burden as this upon the community somehow added to this treaty of alliance the suggestion of a symbol of servitude. Here is a privilege that they failed to obtain from our ancestors by agreement, although they had recently done us good service, no precedent blocked the way, and Rome's resources were not strained; yet they now, after all these years, obtained this privilege from Gaius Verres by bribery, although they have done us no fresh service, our imperial rights in the matter have been exercised every year and maintained without a break, and our naval resources are strained most severely. Nor did they obtain only the privilege of not supplying a ship: during the three years of your governorship, have the Messanians supplied one single sailor, or one single soldier either for service afloat or for garrison duty ashore?

XXI. And finally, whereas it was required by 52
decree of the Senate, and also by the Terentian and Cassian Law, that corn should be bought, in equitable proportions, from all the towns of Sicily,[a] you ex-

que munus leve atque commune Mamertinis remisisti. Dices frumentum Mamertinos non debere. Quo modo non debere? an ut ne venderent? non enim erat hoc genus frumenti ex eo genere quod exigeretur sed ex eo quod emeretur. Te igitur auctore et interprete ne foro quidem et commeatu Mamertini iuvare
53 populum Romanum debuerunt. Quae tandem civitas fuit quae deberet? Qui publicos agros arant, certum est quid e lege censoria debeant: cur his quicquam praeterea ex alio genere imperavisti? Quid? decumani num quid praeter singulas decumas ex lege Hieronica debent? cur his quoque statuisti quantum ex hoc genere frumenti empti darent? Quid immunes? hi certe nihil debent. At eis non modo imperasti, verum etiam, quo plus darent quam poterant, haec sexagena milia modium quae Mamertinis remiseras addidisti. Neque hoc dico, ceteris non recte imperatum, sed Mamertinis, qui erant in eadem causa et quibus superiores omnes item ut ceteris imperarant pecuniamque ex senatus consulto et ex lege dissolverant, his dico non recte remissum.

Et ut hoc beneficium, quem ad modum dicitur, trabali clavo figeret, cum consilio causam Mamertinorum cognoscit et de consilii sententia Mamertinis

[a] *Eis* refers to all the three classes of persons, not to the *immunes* only.
[b] A *clavus trabalis* is an especially massive nail used for main beams (*trabes*).

empted the Messanians from this duty also, light and universal though it was. You will tell us that the Messanians were not bound to supply corn. In what sense not bound to supply it? Not bound to sell it to us? This kind of corn was not the kind to be exacted as a tribute, but the kind to be bought and paid for. I see: if we are to take your opinion and accept your explanations, the Messanians were not bound to assist the Roman nation even by trading
and doing business with it. Then pray what com- 53
munity was bound to do so? The farmers of state lands were bound to supply the amount fixed by the censors' regulations: why did you require them to supply a further amount under another heading? Again, under the code of Hiero, each of the tithed farmers is only bound to supply his tithe: in their case too, why did you fix the amount of corn they were to supply for purchase? And what of the exempted towns? they, at least, were not bound to supply anything. Yet you not only ordered them[a] to do so, but also, in order to make them supply more than they possibly could, further demanded from them the 60,000 pecks that you had let the Messanians keep. And I do not mean to say that it was wrong to require these supplies from all the other towns. What I do say is this, that the Messanians were on the same footing as the rest; that all previous governors had required corn from them as from the rest, and had paid them for it as is directed by the decree of the Senate and the law concerned; and that therefore it was wrong to let them off.

To nail down this so-called benefaction for good and all,[b] the man brought the case of the Messanians before his council, and announced that he was not

54 se frumentum non imperare pronuntiat. Audite de-
cretum mercennarii praetoris ex ipsius commentario,
et cognoscite quanta in scribendo gravitas, quanta in
constituendo iure sit auctoritas. Recita. COMMEN-
TARIUS. De consilii sententia libenter ait se facere,
itaque perscribit. Quid, si hoc verbo non esses usus
"libenter"? nos videlicet invitum te quaestum facere
putaremus. Ac "de consilii sententia"! Prae-
clarum recitari consilium, iudices, audistis; utrum
vobis consilium tandem praetoris recitari videbatur,
cum audiebatis nomina, an praedonis improbissimi
55 societas atque comitatus? En foederum interpretes,
societatis pactores,[1] religionis auctores! Numquam
in Sicilia frumentum publice est emptum quin Ma-
mertinis pro portione imperaretur, antequam hoc
delectum praeclarumque consilium iste dedit, ut ab
his nummos acciperet ac sui similis esset. Itaque tan-
tum valuit istius decreti auctoritas quantum debuit
eius hominis qui, a quibus frumentum emere debuisset,
iis decretum vendidisset. Nam statim L. Metellus ut
isti successit, ex C. Sacerdotis et ex Sex. Peducaei
instituto ac litteris frumentum Mamertinis imperavit.
56 XXII. Tum illi intellexerunt se id quod a malo auc-
tore emissent diutius obtinere non posse.

Age porro, tu qui tam religiosum existimari te
voluisti interpretem foederum, cur Tauromenitanis

[1] *The best* MSS. *have* pactiones, *not* pactores: *whence Nohl, followed by Peterson, would read* pactionis.

requiring Messana to supply corn, "in accordance
with a resolution of the council." Listen to the order 54
made by this tradesman of a governor, extracted from
his own minutes: observe the dignity of his style,
and the impressiveness of his legal decisions.—Read
it, please. *The extract is read.*—He gladly gives
effect, he says, to the resolution passed by his council,
and so on, to the end.—What if you had left out the
word "gladly"? we should be assuming, no doubt,
that you disliked making money in this way.—And
this "resolution passed by his council"! You
heard, gentlemen, who the members of this dis-
tinguished council were: as you listened to their
names being read aloud, did you take them to be
really a governor's council, or the partners and
associates of a rascally pirate? Here are the gentle- 55
men to interpret our treaties and negotiate our
alliances and teach us our solemn duty! Never was
there an official purchase of corn in Sicily without the
Messanians' being ordered to furnish their due share,
until Verres set this choice and distinguished council
of his to work, so as to get his money out of these
people, in accordance with his regular principles.
This decree of his consequently remained in force
no longer than was proper, being the work of a man
who sold it to the people from whom he should have
bought corn. As soon as Lucius Metellus succeeded
him, he followed the recorded practice of Gaius
Sacerdos and Sextus Peducaeus, and required corn
from the Messanians, XXII. who then perceived that 56
they could no longer keep what they had bought from
a man who had no right to sell it.—

And tell us this, moreover, you who would pass for
a conscientious interpreter of treaties: why did you

frumentum, cur Netinis imperasti? quarum civitatum utraque foederata est. Ac Netini quidem sibi non defuerunt, ac, simul pronuntiasti libenter te Mamertinis remittere, te adierunt et eandem suam causam foederis esse docuerunt. Tu aliter decernere eadem in causa non potuisti; pronuntias Netinos frumentum dare non debere—et ab his tamen exigis. Cedo mihi eiusdem praetoris litteras et rerum decretarum et frumenti imperati. LITTERAE RERUM DECRETARUM. Quid potius in hac tanta et tam turpi inconstantia suspicari possumus, iudices, quam id quod necesse est, aut isti a Netinis pecuniam cum posceret non datam, aut id esse actum ut intellegerent Mamertini bene se apud istum tam multa pretia ac munera collocasse, cum idem alii iuris ex eadem causa non obtinerent?

57 Hic mihi etiam audebit mentionem facere Mamertinae laudationis? in qua quam multa sint vulnera quis est vestrum, iudices, quin intellegat? Primum[1] in iudiciis qui decem laudatores dare non potest, honestius est ei nullum dare quam illum quasi legitimum numerum consuetudinis non explere. Tot in Sicilia civitates sunt quibus tu per triennium praefuisti: arguunt ceterae, paucae et parvae et metu repressae silent, una laudat. Hoc quid est nisi intellegere quid habeat utilitatis vera laudatio, sed tamen

[1] Primum in *most editors*: primum ut in *most MSS.*: primum enim in *Peterson.*

[a] The text is rather doubtful just here: it probably indicated the reading of the requisition also.

require corn from Tauromenium and Netum, when both towns enjoy treaty privileges? The people of Netum, indeed, stood up for themselves; as soon as you had announced that you were gladly exempting the Messanians, they approached you and pointed out that their treaty entitled them to the same treatment. You were unable to order different treatment when the case was just the same; you announced that Netum was not bound to supply corn—and forced them to supply it nevertheless. Let us hear the text of our governor's decree, and that of the corn requisition by the same author. *The text of the decree is read.*[a] Considering this gross and shameful piece of inconsistency, gentlemen, can we avoid drawing the inevitable conclusion, that either he asked Netum for a sum of money which Netum refused to pay, or that his object was to show the Messanians how advantageously they had invested all the bribes and gifts they had given him, by refusing the same privilege to others who had the same claim to it?

Shall I find that even in this connexion he dares to 57
remind me of the Messanian eulogy? Gentlemen, there is not one of you but perceives the many reasons why that eulogy is worthless. In the first place, when an accused person cannot produce ten others to speak to his good character, it is better for his reputation that he should produce none than that he should fail to make up this number that custom prescribes.—Yet of the numerous Sicilian communities which you have governed for three years nearly all testify against you, a few small ones are intimidated into silence, and a single one speaks for you. What this means is plain: that you know the advantage of a

ita provinciae praefuisse ut hac utilitate necessario
58 sit carendum? Deinde, quod alio loco antea dixi, quae est ista tandem laudatio, cuius laudationis legati et principes et publice tibi navem aedificatam et privatim se ipsos abs te spoliatos expilatosque esse dixerunt? Postremo quid aliud isti faciunt, cum te soli ex Sicilia laudant, nisi testimonio nobis sunt omnia te sibi esse largitum quae tu de re publica nostra detraxeris? Quae colonia est in Italia tam bono iure, quod tam immune municipium, quod per hosce annos tam commoda vacatione omnium rerum sit usum quam Mamertina civitas? Per triennium soli ex foedere quod debuerunt non dederunt, soli isto praetore omnium rerum immunes fuerunt, soli in istius imperio ea condicione vixerunt ut populo Romano nihil darent, Verri nihil negarent.

59 XXIII. Verum ut ad classem, quo ex loco sum digressus, revertar, accepisti a Mamertinis navem contra leges, remisisti contra foedera. Ita in una civitate bis improbus fuisti, cum et remisisti quod non oportebat et accepisti quod non licebat. Exigere te oportuit navem quae contra praedones, non quae cum praeda navigaret, quae defenderet ne provincia spoliaretur, non quae provinciae spolia portaret. Mamertini

[a] The plural in *principes* and *se ipsos* is rhetorical: Heius was the *princeps legationis*, and the only Messanian whom Verres is alleged to have robbed. See Book iv. §§ 3-28.

genuine eulogy, and that nevertheless your behaviour as governor has deprived you of that advantage. In 58
the next place—to repeat what I have already said elsewhere—what can be made of this eulogy of yours, when we hear from the persons sent to pronounce it, and from their chairman,[a] of the ship built for you at the expense of the community, and of the way in which they themselves as individuals were stripped and plundered by you? And finally, when these friends of yours thus eulogize you, they and no one else in Sicily, what they do is simply to testify before us to all that you bestowed on them by robbing our country. Is there in all Italy a colony so privileged, is there a municipality so immune from burdens, that it has enjoyed, during those years, exemptions of every kind as profitable as those enjoyed by Messana? For those three years, they alone did not furnish what by treaty they were bound to furnish; they alone, while Verres was governor, were immune from every burden; for them alone, of all over whom he had authority, it was understood that they need let Rome have nothing if they would let Verres have everything.—

XXIII. But to go back to my present subject, 59
which is the fleet: as you broke the law by accepting the one ship from the Messanians, so you violated the treaty by exempting them from supplying the other. In your dealings with this one state you have been guilty of two crimes—that of granting them an improper exemption, and that of accepting from them an illegal present. It was your duty to secure from them a ship to harry plunderers, not to carry plunder; a ship to protect the province from spoliation, not to convey the spoils of the province. The Messanians

tibi et urbem quo furta undique deportares et navem in qua exportares praebuerunt; illud tibi oppidum receptaculum praedae fuit, illi homines testes custodesque furtorum, illi tibi et locum furtis et furtorum vehiculum comparaverunt. Itaque ne tum quidem cum classem avaritia ac nequitia tua perdidisti Mamertinis navem imperare ausus es; quo tempore in tanta inopia navium tantaque calamitate provinciae, etiamsi precario essent rogandi, tamen ab iis impetraretur. Reprimebat enim tibi et imperandi vim et rogandi conatum praeclara illa non populo Romano reddita biremis, sed praetori donata cybaea. Ea fuit merces imperii, auxilii, iuris, consuetudinis, foederis.

60 Habetis unius civitatis firmum auxilium amissum ac venditum pretio; cognoscite nunc novam praedandi rationem ab hoc primum excogitatam. XXIV. Sumptum omnem in classem frumento stipendio ceterisque rebus suo quaeque nauarcho civitas semper dare solebat. Is neque ut accusaretur a nautis committere audebat, et civibus suis rationes referre debebat, et in illo omni negotio non modo labore, sed etiam

[a] *Iuris*: the *ius* is the "right" of Rome to receive the warship from Messana.

provided you with a sea-port at which to gather your stolen treasures from every part of the island, and with a ship in which to carry them away from it: this town was the receiving-station of your booty, this town's inhabitants were the witnesses and custodians of your thefts; they it was who procured you a place in which to deposit what you stole, and a vessel in which to remove it. The result was that not even when your greed and wickedness had led to the destruction of the fleet did you dare to require a warship of the Messanians, though it was a time when the shortage of warships, and the disaster that had befallen the province, might well have made them give you one, even if you could only have asked for it as a favour. The fact is that sharp command and earnest request were alike debarred by that notorious vessel which, instead of being a frigate duly delivered to the Roman nation, was a cargo-ship kindly presented to the Roman governor. With this vessel was bought exemption from receiving orders, from rendering assistance, from duty[a] and custom and treaty obligations.—

You have now heard how the powerful aid of one particular state was bartered away and lost. Let me next tell you of a plan for securing plunder that was worked out for the first time by the inventive brain of Verres. XXIV. It had been the regular practice that each state should provide for its naval expenditure on provisions, pay, and all other such matters, by furnishing its own commander with the sum needed. The commander would never dare to risk being charged by his men with misconduct; he was bound to render account of everything to his fellow-citizens; his duties throughout entailed not 60

periculo suo versabatur. Erat hoc, ut dico, factitatum semper, nec solum in Sicilia, sed in omnibus provinciis, etiam in sociorum et Latinorum stipendio ac sumptu, tum cum illorum auxiliis uti solebamus : Verres post imperium constitutum primus imperavit ut ea pecunia omnis a civitatibus sibi adnumeraretur, ut is eam
61 pecuniam tractaret quem ipse praefecisset. Cui potest esse dubium quam ob rem et omnium consuetudinem veterem primus immutaris, et tantam utilitatem per alios tractandae pecuniae neglexeris, et tantam difficultatem cum crimine, molestiam cum suspicione susceperis ? Deinde alii quaestus instituuntur, ex uno genere navali videte quam multi : accipere a civitatibus pecuniam ne nautas darent, pretio certo missos facere nautas, missorum omne stipendium lucrari, reliquis quod deberet non dare—haec omnia ex civitatum testimoniis cognoscite. Recita. TESTIMONIA
62 CIVITATUM. XXV. Huncine hominem, hancine impudentiam, iudices, hanc audaciam ! civitatibus pro numero militum pecuniarum summas discribere, certum pretium, sescenos nummos, nautarum missionis constituere ! quos qui dederat commeatum totius aestatis abstulerat, iste quod eius nautae nomine pro stipendio frumentoque acceperat lucrabatur. Ita

[a] Until, that is, the *Lex Iulia* (90 B.C.), by conferring Roman citizenship on Rome's Italian subjects, substituted voluntary enlistment in the legions for the obligation to furnish contingents of auxiliary troops.

only toil but personal responsibility. This, I repeat, was the invariable practice, and not in Sicily only, but in all our provinces, and even for the pay and maintenance of the Italian allies and Latins in the days [a] when they supplied us with auxiliary troops : Verres was the first person since our empire was established to require all this money to be paid over by the communities to himself, and to be handled by commanders whom he himself appointed.—It must be 61
plain to everyone why you altered a practice so ancient and so generally observed ; why you were indifferent to the great advantage of delegating to others the handling of this money ; why you took upon yourself a difficult and troublesome task that at the same time exposed you to suspicion and charges of misconduct.—Other devices for making money were then set going ; and observe, gentlemen, how many the fleet alone supplied : communities would pay him to exempt them from having to supply sailors ; he would discharge sailors from duty at so much a head ; he would appropriate the pay of all those thus discharged, and withhold the pay due to all the rest. All these facts you will find stated in the evidence given by the communities.—Read it to us.—*The evidence is read.*—XXV. Look at this fellow, 62
gentlemen, look at his unscrupulous impudence. Think of his making a list of the sums of money that corresponded to the number of men the various states had to supply, and of his fixing the definite amount of six pounds a head as the fee for discharging sailors. Any man who paid his six pounds got away, discharged from duty for the whole summer, and the money Verres had received for that man's pay and food went into his own purse : thus a single dis-

quaestus duplex unius missionis fiebat. Atque haec homo amentissimus in tanto praedonum impetu tantoquo periculo provinciae sic palam faciebat ut et ipsi praedones scirent et tota provincia testis esset.

63 Cum propter istius hanc avaritiam nomine classis esset in Sicilia, re quidem vera naves inanes, quae praedam praetori, non quae praedonibus metum afferrent, tamen, cum P. Caesetius et P. Tadius decem navibus suis semiplenis navigarent, navem quandam piratarum praeda refertam non ceperunt, sed abduxerunt onere suo plane captam atque depressam. Erat ea navis plena iuventutis formosissimae, plena argenti facti atque signati, multa cum stragula veste. Haec una navis a classe nostra non capta est, sed inventa ad Megaridem, qui locus est non longe a Syracusis. Quod ubi isti nuntiatum est, tametsi in acta cum mulierculis iacebat ebrius, erexit se tamen, et statim quaestori legatoque suo custodes misit complures, ut
64 omnia sibi integra quam primum exhiberentur. Appellitur navis Syracusas; exspectatur ab omnibus supplicium. Iste quasi praeda sibi advecta, non praedonibus captis, si qui senes ac deformes erant, eos in hostium numero ducit; qui aliquid formae aetatis artificiique habebant, abducit omnes, non nullos scribis filio cohortique distribuit, symphoniacos homines sex

[a] *i.e.*, he executed them.
[b] Whether pirates or their captives.
[c] These were of course captives.

charge provided a double gain for him. And in spite of the activity of the pirates and the danger of the province, the crazy madman did all this so openly that the pirates themselves knew of it, and the whole province saw it done.

Now although as the result of the man's cupidity 63
the Sicilian fleet was a fleet in name only, and in fact consisted of empty ships, better fitted to put gold into the governor's purse than to put fear into the pirates' hearts, yet while Publius Caesetius and Publius Tadius were cruising about with their ten half-manned vessels, they did fall in with one of the pirates' ships, which they cannot be said to have captured, for already it was completely overpowered by the heavy load it carried, but at least they towed it off. It was full of handsome young captives, and of silver plate and silver coin, together with a quantity of woven stuffs. This one ship our fleet discovered—one cannot say captured—off the coast of Megara, a place not far from Syracuse. When the news was brought to Verres, he was lying drunk on the sea-coast with those women of his; however, he got on to his feet, and immediately sent off several of his guards to his quaestor and assistant-governor, with instructions that everything was to be brought intact without delay for his inspection. The ship was 64
brought into Syracuse. Everyone was looking to see justice done; but Verres behaved less like a captor of pirates than like a pirate receiving his booty. He treated as public enemies [a] all of his prisoners [b] who were old or ugly; but he took away all who possessed any measure of beauty, youth or artistic skill, distributing some of them as gifts to his secretaries, his son or his staff, and sending half-a-dozen musicians [c] as a

cuidam amico suo Romam muneri misit. Nox illa tota in exinaniunda nave consumitur. Archipiratam ipsum videt nemo, de quo supplicium sumi oportuit. Hodie omnes sic habent (quid eius sit vos coniectura assequi debetis), istum clam a piratis ob hunc archipiratam pecuniam accepisse.

65 XXVI. "Coniectura est." Iudex esse bonus nemo potest qui suspicione certa non movetur. Hominem nostis, consuetudinem omnium tenetis—qui ducem praedonum aut hostium ceperit, quam libenter eum palam ante oculos omnium esse patiatur. Hominem in tanto conventu Syracusis vidi neminem, iudices, qui archipiratam captum sese vidisse diceret, cum omnes, ut mos est, ut solet fieri, concurrerent, quaererent, videre cuperent. Quid accidit cur tanto opere iste homo occultaretur ut eum ne casu quidem quisquam aspicere posset? Homines maritimi Syracusis, qui saepe istius ducis nomen audissent, saepe timuissent, cum eius cruciatu atque supplicio pascere oculos animumque exsaturare vellent, potestas aspiciendi
66 nemini facta est. Unus plures praedonum duces vivos cepit P. Servilius quam omnes antea. Ecquando igitur isto fructu quisquam caruit, ut videre piratam captum non liceret? At contra, quacumque iter fecit, hoc iucundissimum spectaculum omnibus vinctorum captorumque hostium praebebat, itaque ei concursus fiebant undique ut non modo ex iis oppidis qua ducebantur sed etiam ex finitimis visendi causa

present to a friend of his in Rome. The whole night was spent unloading the ship. The pirate captain himself, who ought to have been executed, was nowhere to be seen. Everyone to-day believes—you must draw your own inferences as to how far they are right—that Verres was secretly bribed by the pirates to spare this pirate captain.

XXVI. This is merely an inference? No man can 65
be a competent judge who is unaffected by convincing circumstantial evidence. You know your man; and you are aware of the universal custom—how gladly the captor of a hostile general or private chief permits him to be exposed freely to the public gaze. Gentlemen, in all that populous city of Syracuse I found not one man who claimed to have set eyes on the captured pirate leader, although there was the usual gathering of the whole population, and the customary eager inquiries from would-be spectators. What led to this man's being so thoroughly concealed that no one was able to get even a casual glimpse of him? The seafaring folk of Syracuse, who had often heard and often trembled at his name, longed to feast their eyes and satisfy their souls with the spectacle of his torture and execution, and none of them was allowed even to
look at him. Publius Servilius captured more pirate 66
chiefs alive than all his predecessors together; and was anyone forbidden to enjoy the consequent satisfaction of seeing the captives? Far from it. Wherever Servilius journeyed, he provided the public with the delightful sight of its captured enemies in chains; and crowds gathered in consequence from every quarter to meet him, and came to see the spectacle not only from the towns through which the prisoners passed, but from the neighbouring towns as well.

convenirent. Ipse autem triumphus quam ob rem omnium triumphorum gratissimus populo Romano fuit et iucundissimus? Quia nihil est victoria dulcius, nullum est autem testimonium victoriae certius quam, quos saepe metueris, eos te vinctos ad supplicium duci
67 videre. Hoc tu quam ob rem non fecisti? quam ob rem ita pirata iste occultatus est quasi eum aspici nefas esset? quam ob rem supplicium non sumpsisti? quam ob causam hominem reservasti? ecquem scis in Sicilia antea captum archipiratam qui non securi percussus sit? Unum cedo auctorem tui facti, unius profer exemplum. Vivum tu archipiratam servabas—quo? Per triumphum, credo, quem ante currum tuum duceres; neque enim quicquam erat reliquum nisi uti classe populi Romani pulcherrima amissa provinciaque lacerata triumphus tibi navalis decerneretur.

68 XXVII. Age porro, custodiri ducem praedonum novo more quam securi feriri omnium exemplo magis placuit: quae sunt istae custodiae? apud quos homines, quem ad modum est asservatus? Lautumias Syracusanas omnes audistis, plerique nostis. Opus est ingens, magnificum, regum ac tyrannorum; totum est e saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso et multorum operis penitus exciso; nihil tam clausum ad exitum, nihil tam saeptum undique, nihil tam tutum ad custodiam nec fieri nec cogitari potest. In has lautumias si qui publice custodiendi sunt etiam ex

And why was his actual triumph in Rome the most welcome and acceptable of all triumphs to our people here? Because nothing is more delightful than victory, and there is no surer evidence of victory than for us to see those at the thought of whom we have often trembled led in chains to their execution. Why 67
did you not do likewise? why was that pirate thus hidden from view, as if it would have been a sin to exhibit him? why did you not execute him? what justified your keeping him alive? do you know of any pirate chief before now taken prisoner in Sicily and not beheaded? Quote me one single authority, produce one single precedent, in support of your conduct. You kept this pirate captain alive—for what purpose? To have him led before your chariot at your triumph, no doubt. After your loss of that splendid fleet of Roman ships, and your devastation of that Roman province, indeed it only remained for us to award you a naval triumph.—

XXVII. Well, he preferred the innovation of 68
keeping this pirate captain a prisoner to the regular practice of having him executed; and I now ask, what was the imprisonment like? among whom was the man kept, and in what fashion? You have all heard of, and most of you have seen, the Syracuse stone-quarries: an immense and splendid piece of work, carried out by the kings and tyrants. The whole thing is a profound excavation in the rock carried down to an astonishing depth by the labours of many stone-cutters; no prison more strongly barred, more completely enclosed, more securely guarded, could be constructed or imagined. Persons officially sentenced to imprisonment are brought to these quarries not only from Syracuse but from all

69 ceteris oppidis Siciliae deduci imperantur. Eo quod
multos captivos cives Romanos coniecerat, quod
eodem ceteros piratas condi imperarat, intellexit, si
hunc subditivum archipiratam in eandem custodiam
dedisset, fore ut a multis in lautumiis verus ille dux
quaereretur. Itaque hominem huic optimae tutis-
simaeque custodiae non audet committere, denique
Syracusas totas timet, amandat hominem—quo?
Lilybaeum fortasse? Video; tamen homines mari-
timos non plane reformidat. Minime, iudices. Pan-
hormum igitur? Audio; quamquam Syracusis, quo-
niam in Syracusano captus erat, maxime, si minus
70 supplicio affici, at custodiri oportebat. Ne Panhor-
mum quidem. Quo igitur? quo putatis? Ad ho-
mines a piratarum metu et suspicione alienissimos, a
navigando rebusque maritimis remotissimos, ad Cen-
turipinos, homines maxime mediterraneos, summos
aratores, qui nomen numquam timuissent maritimi
praedonis, unum te praetore horruissent Apronium,
terrestrem archipiratam. Et ut quivis facile per-
spiceret id ab isto actum esse ut ille suppositus facile
et libenter se illum qui non erat esse simularet, im-
perat Centuripinis ut is victu ceterisque rebus quam
liberalissime commodissimeque adhiberetur.

71 XXVIII. Interea Syracusani, homines periti et
humani, qui non modo ea quae perspicua essent videre

[a] As this counterfeit is here mentioned for the first time, *hunc* is perhaps corrupt: *quem* would give the sense required, "*a* counterfeit." Dr. Rouse suggests *huic* "a (fake) captain in place of this (the real) one."

the other towns in Sicily. Now since Verres had 69
flung a number of Roman citizens into prison in this
place, and had also ordered the rest of the pirates to
be put away there, he saw that if he also sent that
counterfeit [a] pirate captain to this same spot for cus-
tody the absence of the real captain would be noted
by a number of persons in the quarries. Therefore he
did not dare to commit this man to that best and safest
of prisons; indeed, no part of Syracuse seemed safe
to him, and he sent the man off—where, please?
To Lilybaeum, perhaps? oh, very well—after all, he
is not really afraid of the people who live on the
coast? No, gentlemen, not there. To Panhormus,
then? why, that will do; not but what, as the man
was captured in Syracusan waters, Syracuse was the
right place for his imprisonment, if not for his execu-
tion. But no, not to Panhormus either. Where 70
was it, then? Why, where do you suppose? To a
place whose inhabitants had the least possible reason
to feel any fear or concern about the pirates, and had
nothing to do with sea-faring or maritime matters:
to Centuripa, which has a wholly inland population
of excellent farmers, to whom no sea-going pirate's
name had ever been a name of fear—their one and
only dread, while you, Verres, were governor, was
that pirate chief of the dry land Apronius. And to
let everyone perceive without trouble his purpose in
this, which was to enable the substitute to pass him-
self off without difficulty or trouble as the man he was
not, he gave orders to the people of Centuripa to have
the fellow supplied with food and all other comforts
on the most ample and generous scale.

XXVIII. The Syracusans meanwhile, being experi- 71
enced and educated folk who could not merely per-

verum etiam occulta suspicari possent, habebant rationem omnes cotidie piratarum qui securi ferirentur; quam multos esse oporteret ex ipso navigio quod erat captum et ex remorum numero coniciebant. Iste, quod omnes qui artificii aliquid habuerant aut formae removerat atque abduxerat, reliquos si, ut consuetudo est, universos ad palum alligasset, clamorem populi fore suspicabatur, cum tanto plures abducti essent quam relicti; propter hanc causam cum instituisset alios alio tempore producere, tamen in tanto conventu nemo erat quin rationem numerumque haberet et reliquos non desideraret solum sed
72 etiam posceret et flagitaret. Cum magnus numerus deesset, tum iste homo nefarius in eorum locum quos domum suam de piratis abduxerat substituere et supponere coepit cives Romanos quos in carcerem antea coniecerat; quorum alios Sertorianos milites fuisse insimulabat et ex Hispania fugientes ad Siciliam appulsos esse dicebat, alios, qui a praedonibus erant capti, cum mercaturas facerent aut aliquam ob causam navigarent, sua voluntate cum piratis fuisse arguebat. Itaque alii cives Romani, ne cognoscerentur, capitibus obvolutis e carcere ad palum atque ad necem rapiebantur, alii, cum a multis civibus Romanis cognoscerentur, ab omnibus defenderentur, securi feriebantur. Quorum ego de acerbissima morte crude-

ceive what was obvious but draw their conclusions about what was not, all of them kept count each day of the number of pirates executed: what the number should be they calculated from the size of the captured vessel and the number of its oars. As Verres had removed for his own purposes all those who possessed any degree of artistic skill or personal beauty, he argued that there would be a general outcry if he followed the regular practice of having all the rest bound to the stake in a body, because so many more of them had been taken away than left behind. He therefore proceeded to bring them forth for execution in small numbers on different days; none the less, in all that populous city there was no one who failed to keep a reckoning of the numbers, noted how many were missing, and asked for, even demanded,
these men also. A great many were still lacking; 72
whereupon this abominable scoundrel, to take the place of those pirates whom he had removed to his own house, began to produce as substitutes for them some Roman citizens whom he had before this thrown into prison. Some of these he alleged were fugitives from the army of Sertorius, who on their way from Spain had been forced to land in Sicily: others, who had been captured by pirates, persons engaged in trade or travelling by sea for some other reason, he accused of being in the pirates' company of set purpose. And so some of these Roman citizens were rushed from their prisons to slaughter at the stake with their faces muffled to prevent their being recognized, and others were executed in spite of being recognized by many of their fellow-citizens and declared innocent by all of them. Of these men's painful deaths, of the cruel tortures they

lissimoque cruciatu dicam cum eum locum tractare
coepero, et ita dicam ut, si me in ea querimonia quam
sum habiturus de istius crudelitate et de civium Ro-
manorum indignissima morte non modo vires verum
etiam vita deficiat, id mihi praeclarum et iucundum
73 putem. Haec igitur est gesta res, haec victoria prae-
clara; myoparone piratico capto dux liberatus, sym-
phoniaci Romam missi, formosi homines et adule-
scentes et artifices domum abducti, in eorum locum
et ad eorum numerum cives Romani hostilem in
modum cruciati et necati, omnis vestis ablata, omne
aurum et argentum ablatum et aversum.

XXIX. At quem ad modum ipse se induit priore
actione! Qui tot dies tacuisset, repente in M. Annii,
hominis splendidissimi, testimonio, cum is civem Ro-
manum dixisset, archipiratam negasset, securi esse
percussum, exsiluit conscientia sceleris et furore ex
maleficiis concepto excitatus; dixit se, quod sciret sibi
crimini datum iri pecuniam accepisse neque de vero
archipirata sumpsisse supplicium, ideo se securi non
percussisse; domi esse apud sese archipiratas dixit
74 duos. O clementiam populi Romani seu potius
patientiam miram ac singularem! Civem Romanum
securi esse percussum M. Annius, eques Romanus,
dicit, taces: archipiratam negat, fateris. Fit gemi-

suffered, I will speak when the time comes for me
to deal with that subject; and in such a fashion
will I do it, with such indignation will I tell of
yonder man's ferocity in slaughtering those inno-
cent Roman citizens, that if my strength, nay, if my
very life should fail me as I spoke, I should count it
a matter for pride and for rejoicing. Meanwhile, 73
observe this achievement, this noble triumph: a
pirate galley is captured, and its captain is set free,
those musicians are sent off to Rome, the attractive,
youthful and accomplished captives are taken off to
the governor's house, their places are taken by an
equal number of citizens of Rome who are tortured
and killed as if they were enemies of Rome, all the
woven stuffs are carried off, all the gold and silver is
carried off and appropriated.

XXIX. You will remember how during the first
hearing of this case Verres convicted himself. For
day after day he had held his tongue; but when that
distinguished man Marcus Annius in the course of
his evidence asserted that a Roman citizen had been
executed, and that the pirate captain had not,
Verres suddenly leapt to his feet, inflamed by the
knowledge of his own wickedness and the madness
begotten of his own crimes, and declared that he
knew he would be charged with having taken a bribe
and having failed to execute the real pirate captain,
and that for this reason he had not beheaded him;
and he also declared that he had two pirate captains
in his house.—What mercy the people of Rome 74
showed you—or let me say, what amazing and un-
paralleled long-suffering! Marcus Annius, a Roman
knight, states that a citizen of Rome was beheaded,
and you say nothing; that the pirate captain was not,

tus omnium et clamor, cum tamen a praesenti supplicio tuo continuit populus Romanus se et repressit et salutis suae rationem iudicum severitati reservavit. Quid ? sciebas tibi crimini datum iri ? quam ob rem sciebas, quam ob rem etiam suspicabare ? Inimicum habebas neminem ; si haberes, tamen non ita vixeras ut metum iudicii propositum habere deberes. An te, id quod fieri solet, conscientia timidum suspiciosumque faciebat ? Qui igitur, cum esses cum imperio, iam tum crimen et iudicium horrueris, cum tot testi-
75 bus coarguare potes de damnatione dubitare ? Verum si crimen hoc metuebas, ne quis suppositum abs te esse diceret qui pro archipirata securi feriretur, utrum tandem tibi ad defensionem firmius fore putasti, in iudicio coactu atque efflagitatu meo producere, ad ignotos, tanto post, eum quem archipiratam esse diceres, an recenti re, Syracusis, apud notos, inspectante Sicilia paene tota, securi ferire ? Vide quid intersit utrum faciendum fuerit ; in illo reprehensio nulla esset, hic defensio nulla est. Itaque illud semper omnes fecerunt : hoc quis ante te, quis praeter te fecerit quaero.

Piratam vivum tenuisti. Quem ad finem ? Dum

[a] As Roman citizens whose own lives were endangered by the precedent set by Verres.

and you admit the fact. Groans and cries arose from every throat ; the people of Rome might well have done justice upon you there and then ; but they refrained, they checked themselves, they left it to the strictness of this Court to take thought for their protection.[a] And you knew, did you, that this charge would be brought against you ? How did you know it ? what reason had you even to think it ? You had no enemies ; nor, if you had, had your behaviour been such as to keep before you the prospect of prosecution ! Or was it indeed the sense of your own guilt that made you, as it makes other men, fearful and suspicious ? Well then, if while you were still in authority you were shuddering at the prospect of prosecution and trial, can you hope for acquittal now when all these witnesses are establishing your
guilt ? But granted that you were afraid of being 75
thus charged with substituting a victim for execution in the place of the pirate captain, which way of defending yourself, after all, did you suppose would be the more effective—to produce at your trial, under the compulsion of my demand, before strangers, after this long interval, someone whom you alleged to be that pirate captain ? or without delay, at Syracuse, before those who knew the man, with practically all Sicily looking on, to have that captain executed ? No question which alternative you should have chosen : the latter would have left no ground for attacking you, the former leaves you no line of defence. And that is why all governors have always done the latter, whereas I have yet to learn who before you, and who except you, has done the former.

You kept that pirate alive, and how long ? As long as your term of office lasted. And on what ground,

cum imperio fuisti. Quam ob causam, quo exemplo,
cur tam diu? cur, inquam, civibus Romanis quos
piratae ceperant securi statim percussis ipsis piratis
76 lucis usuram tam diuturnam dedisti? Verum esto,
sit tibi illud liberum omne tempus quoad cum imperio
fuisti; etiamne privatus, etiamne reus, etiamne paene
damnatus hostium duces privata in domo retinuisti?
Unum, alterum mensem, prope annum denique domi
tuae piratae a quo tempore capti sunt, quoad per me
licitum est, fuerunt, hoc est quoad per M'. Glabrionem
licitum est, qui postulante me produci atque in car-
cerem condi imperavit. XXX. Quod est huiusce rei
ius, quae consuetudo, quod exemplum? Hostem acer-
rimum atque infestissimum populi Romani, seu potius
communem hostem gentium nationumque omnium,
quisquam omnium mortalium privatus intra moenia
77 domi suae retinere poterit? Quid? si pridie quam
a me tu coactus es confiteri civibus Romanis securi
percussis praedonum ducem vivere, habitare apud te,
si, inquam, pridie domo tua profugisset, si aliquam
manum contra rem publicam facere potuisset, quid
diceres? "Apud me habitavit, mecum fuit; ego
illum ad iudicium meum, quo facilius crimen inimi-
corum diluere possem, vivum atque incolumem reser-
vavi." Itane vero? tu tua pericula communi peri-
culo defendes? tu supplicia quae debentur hostibus

with what precedent, for what reason was it so long?
For what reason, I repeat, when those Roman citizens
whom the pirates had captured were executed on the
spot, did you suffer a pirate himself to enjoy the light
of day so long? Be it so, however; let us allow you a 76
free hand so long as you were in office; but have you
kept them thus even when out of office, even when
committed for trial, even when all but found guilty—
kept these leaders of your country's enemies in your
private house? For one month—two months—in the
end for nearly a year from the time they were cap-
tured, those pirates were living in your house, until I
put an end to it; until, that is, Manius Glabrio put
an end to it, by making an order, on my application,
that they should be produced and lodged safely in
gaol. XXX. What right, or custom, or precedent
for such behaviour can you allege? This cruel and
deadly enemy of the Roman nation—let me rather
say, this common enemy of all nations and peoples—
shall any private person in all the world be allowed to
keep him living inside the walls of his own house?
Suppose now that on the day before you were forced 77
by me to confess that after beheading citizens of
Rome you had the pirate chief alive and living with
you—suppose, I say, that on that day he had escaped
from your house, and had been able to organize an
armed rising against the state, what would you now
have to say? "He lived in my house, he was in my
company; I kept him alive and unharmed against
the day of my trial, to help me to explain away the
charge my enemies would bring against me." So
that is it! You mean to save yourself by endanger-
ing the safety of the public; you will exact the
penalty of death, incurred by our defeated enemies,

victis ad tuum, non ad rei publicae, tempus conferes? populi Romani hostis privati hominis custodiis asservabitur? At etiam qui triumphant eoque diutius vivos hostium duces reservant, ut his per triumphum ductis pulcherrimum spectaculum fructumque victoriae populus Romanus percipere possit, tamen cum de foro in Capitolium currus flectere incipiunt illos duci in carcerem iubent, idemque dies et victoribus imperii et victis vitae finem facit.

78 Et nunc cuiquam credo esse dubium quin tu id commissurus non fueris, praesertim cum statuisses, ut ais, tibi causam esse dicendam, ut ille archipirata non potius securi feriretur quam, quod erat ante oculos positum, tuo periculo viveret! Si enim esset mortuus, tu, qui crimen ais te metuisse, quaero, cui probares? cum constaret istum Syracusis a nullo visum esse archipiratam, ab omnibus desideratum, cum dubitaret nemo quin abs te pecunia liberatus esset, cum vulgo loquerentur suppositum in eius locum quem pro illo probare velles, cum tu te fassus esses id crimen tanto ante metuisse, si eum diceres
79 esse mortuum, quis te audiret? Nunc cum vivum nescio quem istum producis, tamen te derideri vides: quid? si aufugisset, si vincla rupisset ita ut Nico ille nobilissimus pirata fecit, quem P. Servilius qua felicitate ceperat eadem recuperavit, quid diceres?

[a] Unless, that is, Verres had been heavily bribed by the pirates to do so.

when it suits yourself, and not when it suits your country; the enemy of Rome is to be preserved as a prisoner in a private house! Why, even triumphing generals, who keep enemy leaders alive for some time in order to have them led in the triumphal procession, so as to enable the people of Rome to enjoy the fine sight and reap the reward of victory—even they, as their chariots swing round to leave the Forum for the Capitol, bid their captives be led off to prison, and the day that ends the authority of the conqueror also ends the lives of the conquered.

May all of us now venture to infer—and the more 78
readily that, by your own admission, you had made up your mind that your prosecution was certain—to infer that you were not likely [a] to run the risk of not beheading that pirate captain but keeping him alive and thus quite plainly endangering yourself? You tell us you were afraid of this charge: may I ask who would now believe your reply to it, if the man had died? It would be established that nobody at Syracuse had seen the captain, that everyone had looked for him in vain; nobody doubted that you had been bribed to set him free; it was common talk that a man had been substituted for him whom you were trying to pass off as the captain himself; you had already confessed that all this long time you had been afraid of the charge in question: who, then, would believe you for one moment, if you told us the man had died? Even as it is, when you do produce your 79
man, whoever he is, alive, you see that we laugh at you: and what if your pirate had escaped, had broken his chains like the famous pirate Nico, whom Publius Servilius recaptured with the same good fortune as led to his original capture—what would you have

Verum hoc erat: si ille semel verus pirata securi percussus esset, pecuniam illam non haberes; si hic falsus esset mortuus aut profugisset, non esset difficile alium in suppositi locum supponere. Plura dixi quam volui de illo archipirata; et tamen ea quae certissima sunt huius criminis argumenta praetermisi; volo enim esse totum mihi crimen hoc integrum; est certus locus, certa lex, certum tribunal, quo hoc reservetur.

80 XXXI. Hac tanta praeda auctus, mancipiis, ar-
gento, veste locupletatus, nihilo diligentior ad classem
ornandam, milites revocandos alendosque esse coepit,
cum ea res non solum provinciae saluti verum etiam
ipsi praedae posset esse. Nam aestate summa, quo
tempore ceteri praetores obire provinciam et concur-
sare consuerunt, aut etiam in tanto praedonum metu
et periculo ipsi navigare, eo tempore ad luxuriem libi-
dinesque suas domo sua regia, quae regis Hieronis
fuit, qua praetores uti solent, contentus non fuit:
tabernacula, quem ad modum consuerat temporibus
aestivis, quod antea demonstravi, carbaseis intenta
velis collocari iussit in litore, quod est litus in Insula
Syracusis post Arethusae fontem propter ipsum in-
troitum atque ostium portus, amoeno sane et ab ar-
81 bitris remoto loco. Hic dies aestivos praetor populi
Romani, custos defensorque provinciae, sic vixit ut
muliebria cotidie convivia essent, vir accumberet nemo

[a] The Court that tried charges of treason (*maiestas*).

been able to say then? But the truth was this: once the genuine pirate were executed, you had lost your money; and if this pretended pirate died or escaped, it would be easy to replace this first substitute by a second.—I have spoken at greater length than I intended about this pirate captain; but even so I have not brought forward the most convincing proofs of the charge in question; I wish, indeed, to keep it as a whole intact for the present, to be heard in its own place, under its own law, and before its own tribunal.[a]

XXXI. The acquisition of all this plunder, the 80
addition to his wealth of these slaves and silver and
woven fabrics, wholly failed to make him attend more
carefully to the equipment of his fleet or to the recall
to duty and the provisioning of its crews, though that
meant more plunder for himself as well as more
security for his province. During the height of
summer, the season when it has been the practice of
all other governors to move actively about and inspect
their province, or even, when the risk of attacks
by pirates was as formidable as it then was, to put
to sea themselves—at that season his official palace,
once King Hiero's, and now our governors' regular
quarters, did not satisfy his dissolute and profligate
tastes. To spend the summer in his usual fashion, he
gave orders, as already described, for tents of linen
canvas to be set up on the sea-coast, on the Island at
Syracuse, beyond the spring of Arethusa, close to the
mouth and entrance of the harbour: a pleasant spot,
to be sure, and well removed from observation. Here 81
this Roman governor, this warden and protector of
our province, spent the days of summer giving daily
dinner-parties to women, with no mer at table except

praeter ipsum et praetextatum filium—etsi recte sine exceptione dixeram virum, cum isti essent, neminem fuisse; non numquam etiam libertus Timarchides adhibebatur; mulieres autem nuptae nobiles, praeter unam mimi Isidori filiam, quam iste propter amorem ab Rhodio tibicine abduxerat. Erat Pipa quaedam, uxor Aeschrionis Syracusani, de qua muliere plurimi versus qui in istius cupiditatem facti sunt tota Sicilia
82 percelebrantur; erat Nice, facie eximia, ut praedicatur, uxor Cleomeni Syracusani. Hanc[1] vir amabat, verum tamen huius libidini adversari nec poterat nec audebat, et simul ab isto donis beneficiisque multis devinciebatur. Illo autem tempore iste, tametsi ea est hominis impudentia quam nostis, ipse tamen cum vir esset Syracusis uxorem eius parum poterat animo soluto ac libero tot in acta dies secum habere. Itaque excogitat rem singularem; naves quibus legatus praefuerat Cleomeni tradit, classi populi Romani Cleomenem Syracusanum praeesse iubet atque imperare. Hoc eo facit ut ille non solum abesset a domo dum navigaret, sed etiam libenter cum magno honore beneficioque abesset, ipse autem remoto atque ablegato viro non liberius quam antea (quis enim umquam

[1] *The MSS. read* hanc Cleomenes vir.

himself and his young son—and as they were the men, I might well have said that no men at all were present. Sometimes the freedman Timarchides was asked to join them. The women were all married ladies of position, with the single exception of that daughter of the actor Isidorus to whom Verres was so much devoted that he had carried her off from her Rhodian flautist. Among these ladies was Pipa, the wife of Aeschrio of Syracuse, a woman about whom a number of lampoons in verse were composed, in allusion to Verres' passion for her, which are in circulation throughout Sicily. There was also Nice, said to be a 82
remarkably pretty woman, the wife of Cleomenes of Syracuse. Nice's husband was fond enough of her, but had neither the power nor the courage to stand in the way of Verres' lust, and his hands were tied, moreover, by the many presents and favours that Verres had conferred on him. But though Verres is the shameless rascal that you know him to be, none the less he felt unable, at that time, to keep Cleomenes' wife in his company on the beach, day after day, with a completely easy and comfortable mind, so long as Cleomenes himself was in Syracuse. He thought of a very original way out of this difficulty, which was to hand over the fleet, hitherto commanded by a deputy governor, to Cleomenes—to give full power and command over a Roman fleet to Cleomenes the Syracusan. His purpose was not only to keep the man at sea and so away from his home, but to make him glad to be kept away because of the honour and advantage involved; and with the husband banished to a safe distance he himself would be able to enjoy the wife's society, I will not say more freely than before, for nobody ever prevented the

istius libidini obstitit ?) sed paulo solutiore tamen animo secum illam haberet si non tamquam virum sed tamquam aemulum removisset.

83 Accipit naves sociorum atque amicorum Cleomenes Syracusanus. XXXII. Quid primum aut accusem aut querar ? Siculone homini legati, quaestoris, praetoris denique potestatem, honorem, auctoritatem dari ? Si te impediebat ista conviviorum mulierumque occupatio, ubi quaestores ubi legati, [1]ubi ternis denariis aestimatum frumentum, ubi muli, ubi tabernacula, ubi tot tantaque ornamenta magistratibus et legatis a senatu populoque Romano permissa et data,[1] denique ubi praefecti, ubi tribuni tui ? Si civis Romanus dignus isto negotio nemo fuit, quid civitates quae in amicitia fideque populi Romani perpetuo manserant ? ubi Segestana, ubi Centuripina civitas ? quae cum officiis, fide, vetustate, tum etiam cognatione

84 populi Romani nomen attingunt. O di immortales ! quid ? si harum ipsarum civitatum militibus, navibus, nauarchis Syracusanus Cleomenes iussus est imperare, non omnis honos ab isto dignitatis aequitatis officiique sublatus est ? Ecquod in Sicilia bellum gessimus, quin Centuripinis sociis, Syracusanis hostibus uteremur ? Atque haec ego ad memoriam vetustatis, non ad contumeliam civitatis referri volo. Itaque ille vir clarissimus summusque imperator, M. Marcellus,

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[a] The best sense that it seems possible to give these words is that these resources for the defence of Sicily must have been intended for direct use by those persons, and by those persons only, on whom they were thus bestowed by the state.

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gratification of Verres' lusts, but at any rate a little more comfortably for the removal of a man who was not only her husband but his rival.

Behold, then, the ships of our allies and friends 83 handed over to Cleomenes the Syracusan ; XXXII. and I hardly know with which side of this criminal outrage to deal first. Take the fact that a post of authority, dignity and power for an assistant governor, a quaestor, the governor himself, was given to a Sicilian. Your own time was no doubt fully engaged with dinner-parties and women ; but what of your quaestors and adjutants ? [a]what of the corn valued at 12 sesterces the peck ? what of the mules, the tents, the abundant and varied equipment given and entrusted by the Senate and people of Rome to their magistrates and assistant magistrates ?[a] what, if it comes to that,[b] of your captains and lieutenants ? If no Roman citizen was fit for the business, were there not the communities who have remained without interruption loyal and friendly to Rome ? were there not Segesta and Centuripa, so closely linked with us not only by their good service, their loyalty, their antiquity, but also by ties of blood,[c] as almost to deserve the name of Romans ? And when Cleomenes 84 of Syracuse was put by Verres in command of the men and ships and captains of these same communities,—God help us, was not this to trample upon all that was just and fair and right ? Did we ever wage war in Sicily without having Centuripa our ally and Syracuse our enemy ? I would not, in saying this, cast aspersions on Syracuse ; I do but recall the facts of ancient history. It was because of these facts that the great man and famous general Marcus Marcellus, by whose

[c] For Segesta's claim to this see Book iv. § 70.

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[c] For Segesta's claim to this see Book iv. § 70.

cuius virtute captae, misericordia conservatae sunt Syracusae, habitare in ea parte urbis quae in Insula est Syracusanum neminem voluit; hodie, inquam, Syracusanum in ea parte habitare non licet; est enim locus quem vel pauci possent defendere. Committere igitur eum non fidelissimis hominibus noluit, simul quod ab illa parte urbis navibus aditus ex alto est; quam ob rem, qui nostros exercitus saepe excluserant,
85 iis claustra loci committenda non existimavit. Vide quid intersit inter tuam libidinem maiorumque auctoritatem, inter amorem furoremque tuum et illorum consilium atque prudentiam. Illi aditum litoris Syracusanis ademerunt, tu imperium maritimum concessisti; illi habitare in eo loco Syracusanum, qua naves accedere possent, noluerunt, tu classi et navibus Syracusanum praeesse voluisti; quibus illi urbis suae partem ademerunt, iis tu nostri imperii partem dedisti, et quorum sociorum opera Syracusani nobis dicto audientes sunt, eos Syracusano dicto audientes esse iussisti.

86 XXXIII. Egreditur in Centuripina quadriremi Cleomenes e portu; sequitur Segestana navis, Tyndaritana, Herbitensis, Heracliensis, Apolloniensis, Haluntina, praeclara classis specie, sed inops et infirma propter dimissionem propugnatorum atque remigum. Tam diu in imperio suo classem iste praetor diligens vidit quam diu convivium eius flagitiosissimum praetervecta est; ipse autem, qui visus multis diebus non

valour Syracuse was captured, and by whose mercifulness it was preserved, suffered no Syracusan to live in that part of the city which is built upon the Island; at this very day, I tell you, no Syracusan is allowed to live there. For it is a place that a mere handful of men could hold against attack; and because of this, Marcellus would not put it in the power of men not altogether to be trusted. And a further reason was that it is in this direction that the city is approached by sea: the Syracusans had often refused entrance to our forces, and therefore he held that the keys of the city should not be put into their
hands. Mark the contrast, Verres, between your 85
weak wantonness and the strong judgement of our forefathers, between your insane profligacy and their far-sighted wisdom. They took from the Syracusans access to the shore, and you have conceded them command of the sea; they refused to let a Syracusan live where ships could come, and you agreed to let a Syracusan command the ships of our fleet; to the people whom they deprived of part of their own city you have presented a part of our imperial power; the Syracusans obey our commands because of the help our allies gave us, and you have bidden our allies obey the commands of a Syracusan.

XXXIII. Cleomenes sailed out of the harbour in 86
the Centuripan ship, a quadrireme, followed by six other ships, those of Segesta, Tyndaris, Herbita, Heraclia, Apollonia and Haluntium—a fine fleet to look at, but weak and helpless because so many marines and rowers had been exempted from serving. All that our governor saw of this fleet that was under his authority was during the time it sailed past the scene of his shameful carousals; he himself had been

esset, tum se tamen in conspectum nautis paulisper dedit. Stetit soleatus praetor populi Romani cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari muliercula nixus in litore; iam hoc istum vestitu Siculi civesque Romani
87 permulti saepe viderant. Posteaquam paulum provecta classis est et Pachynum quinto die denique adpulsa, nautae coacti fame radices palmarum agrestium, quarum erat in illis locis sicuti in magna parte Siciliae multitudo, colligebant, et iis miseri perditique alebantur; Cleomenes autem, qui alterum se Verrem cum luxurie ac nequitia tum etiam imperio putaret, similiter totos dies in litore tabernaculo posito perpotabat. XXXIV. Ecce autem repente, ebrio Cleomene esurientibus ceteris, nuntiatur piratarum esse naves in portu Odysseae; nam ita is locus nominatur; nostra autem classis erat in portu Pachyni. Cleomenes autem, quod erat terrestre praesidium, non re sed nomine, speravit iis militibus quos ex eo loco deduxisset explere se numerum nautarum et remigum posse. Reperta est eadem istius hominis avarissimi ratio in praesidiis quae in classibus; nam erant per-
88 pauci reliqui, ceteri dimissi. Princeps Cleomenes in quadriremi Centuripina malum erigi, vela fieri, praecidi ancoras imperavit, et simul ut se ceteri sequerentur signum dari iussit. Haec Centuripina navis erat incredibili celeritate velis; nam scire isto praetore

[a] An easier sense would be given by reading (as Zielinski suggested) *cum imperio tum etiam luxurie ac nequitia.* But Cicero means, perhaps, that Cleomenes thought of himself as possessing irresponsible power like Verres, and therefore as free to indulge himself as he liked.

invisible for many days, but on this occasion he did for a few moments show himself to his sailors. That Roman governor stood there on the shore in slippers, wearing a purple Greek cloak and a long-skirted tunic, and leaning on one of his women; and often enough before that had any number of Sicilians and Romans citizens seen him in this costume. The fleet, after 87
no more than four days at sea, put in at Pachynus, by which time food was so short that the sailors had to set about collecting the roots of the wild palms that grow abundantly there as in most parts of Sicily; and while the poor wretches were keeping themselves alive on these, Cleomenes, who thought of himself as Verres' double in authority as well as in profligate self-indulgence,[a] imitated him by spending whole days drinking in a tent pitched on the shore. XXXIV. And now, while he was drunk and his men starving, the news suddenly arrived that there were pirate ships in the harbour of the place known as Odyssea, our fleet being in the harbour of Pachynus. As there was—or rather, there was supposed to be—a land garrison there, Cleomenes counted on being able to withdraw soldiers from it in order to make up his full complement of sailors and rowers. But it now appeared that Verres' money-grubbing tactics had been applied to the land forces as well as to the fleet: most of these men had been exempted from service, and only a few were left.

Cleomenes was the first away. On his quadrireme 88
from Centuripa he ordered the mast to be hoisted up, the sails spread, and the anchor-cables cut, and at the same time the signal given to the others to follow him. This ship from Centuripa was astonishingly fast, under sail—while Verres was governor no one

nemo poterat quid quaeque navis remis facere posset; etsi in hac quadriremi propter honorem et gratiam Cleomenis minime multi remiges et milites deerant. Evolarat iam e conspectu fere fugiens quadriremis, cum etiam tum ceterae naves uno in loco moliebantur.

89 Erat animus in reliquis; quamquam erant pauci, quoquo modo res se habebat, pugnare tamen se velle clamabant, et quod reliquum vitae viriumque fames fecerat, id ferro potissimum reddere volebant. Quodsi Cleomenes non tanto ante fugisset, aliqua tamen ad resistendum ratio fuisset. Erat enim sola illa navis constrata, et ita magna ut propugnaculo ceteris posset esse, quae si in praedonum pugna versaretur, urbis instar habere inter illos piraticos myoparones videretur; sed tum inopes relicti ab duce praefectoque classis eundem necessario cursum tenere coeperunt.

90 Helorum versus, ut ipse Cleomenes, ita ceteri navigabant, neque ii tam praedonum impetum fugiebant quam imperatorem sequebantur. Tum, ut quisque in fuga postremus, ita in periculo princeps erat; postremam enim quamque navem piratae primam adoriebantur. Ita prima Haluntinorum navis capitur, cui praeerat Haluntinus homo nobilis, Phylarchus, quem ab illis praedonibus Locrenses postea publice redemerunt; ex quo vos priore actione iurato rem omnem causamque cognostis. Deinde Apolloniensis navis capitur, et eius praefectus Anthropinus occiditur.

91 XXXV. Haec dum aguntur, interea Cleomenes iam

could tell how fast a ship's oars could carry her—though in this quadrireme, out of deference to the rank of Cleomenes, he had been favoured with the smallest shortage of rowers and soldiers. Her rapid retreat had carried her nearly out of sight while the other vessels were still together doing their best to get away. The deserted crews showed courage 89
enough; few as they were, and in spite of the odds against them, they declared loudly that they meant to fight; they were ready to yield up to the enemy's swords what life and strength starvation had left in their bodies. Indeed, if Cleomenes had not run away so far in front of them, there would, even as things were, have been some hope of holding their own. His was the one decked vessel, and large enough to protect the rest very considerably; in an engagement with the pirates it would have towered like a city over those buccaneering galleys. But as it was, left helpless by the admiral in command, all they could do was to begin following in his wake. So like 90
Cleomenes himself they steered for Helorus, not so much to escape being attacked by the pirates as to follow the lead of their commanding officer. And now the last to flee were the first to suffer, as the pirates fell in turn upon the hindermost ships. The first to be captured was the ship from Haluntium, whose captain, a Haluntine of good family named Phylarchus, was later ransomed from these pirates by the Locrians at the public expense; in the course of the first hearing of this case, you learnt from his sworn evidence the full story of what happened and why it happened. Next the ship from Apollonia was captured, and its commander Anthropinus killed.
XXXV. In the meantime, Cleomenes had already 91

ad Helori litus pervenerat; iam sese in terram e navi eiecerat quadrirememque fluctuantem in salo reliquerat. Reliqui praefecti navium, cum in terram imperator exisset, cum ipsi neque repugnare neque mari effugere ullo modo possent, appulsis ad Helorum navibus Cleomenem persecuti sunt. Tum praedonum dux Heracleo, repente praeter spem non sua virtute sed istius avaritia nequitiaque victor, classem pulcherrimam populi Romani in litus expulsam et eiectam, cum primum invesperasceret, inflammari incendique iussit.

92 O tempus miserum atque acerbum provinciae Siciliae! o casum illum multis innocentibus calamitosum atque funestum! o istius nequitiam ac turpitudinem singularem! Una atque eadem nox erat qua praetor amoris turpissimi flamma, classis populi Romani praedonum incendio conflagrabat. Affertur nocte intempesta gravis huiusce mali nuntius Syracusas; curritur ad praetorium, quo istum ex illo praeclaro convivio reduxerant paulo ante mulieres cum cantu atque symphonia. Cleomenes, quamquam nox erat, tamen in publico esse non audet; includit se domi; neque aderat uxor, quae consolari hominem
93 in malis posset. Huius autem praeclari imperatoris ita erat severa domi disciplina ut in re tanta et tam gravi nuntio nemo admitteretur, nemo esset qui auderet aut dormientem excitare aut interpellare vigilantem. Iam vero re ab omnibus cognita concursabat urbe tota maxima multitudo. Non enim,

reached the coast at Helorus—had already hurried ashore and left his great ship afloat. The captains of the other ships, finding their admiral disembarked, and aware that they could not possibly themselves either beat off the enemy or escape by sea, put in at Helorus and followed Cleomenes. Thereupon the pirate chief Heracleo, thus suddenly and unexpectedly victorious, though not through his own valour but through the iniquitous cupidity of Verres, seeing this fine fleet of Roman ships run ashore on dry land, gave orders as soon as darkness came on to set them on fire and burn them.

What a pitiful miserable episode in Sicilian history! 92
what calamity and ruin for hundreds of innocent men! what a matchless piece of foul wickedness on the part of Verres! On one and the same night we see the Roman governor burning with the vile fires of lust, and the Roman fleet with the flames that those pirates kindled. The bad news of this disaster reached Syracuse late at night, and there was a rush to the governor's residence, to which he had returned not long before from the scene of his brilliant festivities, escorted by the women to the sound of singing and band music. Even though it was night, Cleomenes dared not show himself publicly, but shut himself up at home, poor fellow, with no wife there to comfort him in his trouble. As 93
for this illustrious general of ours, discipline in his household was so strict that even at such a crisis, even with such serious news to report, no one was allowed access to him, no one dared either to wake him when asleep or to interrupt him when awake. But presently the facts became generally known, and a vast crowd gathered from all parts of the city.

sicut erat antea semper consuetudo, praedonum ad-
ventum significabat ignis e specula sublatus aut
tumulo, sed flamma ex ipso incendio navium et ca-
lamitatem acceptam et periculum reliquum nuntiabat.
XXXVI. Cum praetor quaereretur et constaret ne-
minem ei nuntiasse, fit ad domum eius cum clamore
94 concursus atque impetus. Tum iste excitatus audit
rem omnem ex Timarchide, sagum sumit (lucebat iam
fere), procedit in medium vini, somni, stupri plenus.
Excipitur ab omnibus eius modi clamore ut ei Lam-
psaceni periculi similitudo versaretur ante oculos; hoc
etiam maius hoc videbatur, quod in odio simili mul-
titudo hominum haec erat maxima. Tum istius acta
commemorabatur, tum flagitiosa illa convivia; tum
appellabantur a multitudine mulieres nominatim;
tum quaerebant ex isto palam tot dies continuos per
quos numquam visus esset ubi fuisset, quid egisset;
tum imperator ab isto praepositus Cleomenes flagita-
batur; neque quicquam propius est factum quam ut
illud Uticense exemplum de Hadriano transferretur
Syracusas, ut duo sepulcra duorum praetorum impro-
borum duabus in provinciis constituerentur. Verum
habita est a multitudine ratio temporis, habita tu-
multus, habita etiam dignitatis existimationisque
communis, quod is est conventus Syracusis civium
Romanorum ut non modo illa provincia verum etiam
95 hac re publica dignissimus existimetur. Confirmant
ipsi se, cum hic etiam tum semisomnus stuperet, arma

[a] See Book i. §§ 69-70 for the Lampsacus affair and a fuller reference to the fate of Hadrianus at Utica.

For the pirates' approach was not being indicated, as
always hitherto, by a beacon-fire on some watch-
tower or rising ground: it was the flames of the
blazing ships themselves that announced the recent
disaster and the impending danger. XXXVI. Where
was the governor? As soon as it became clear that
no one had reported the news to him, the excited
crowd with loud cries made a rush to his house. At 94
last he was roused, and heard the whole story from
Timarchides. Putting on his military cloak, he came
forth, as daylight was breaking, heavy with sleep and
drink and debauchery. Such a yell from the crowd
greeted his appearance that he saw himself again
in the perilous situation in which he had been at
Lampsacus; and the danger seemed even greater
now, the crowd being no less hostile and much
larger. There were loud references to his days on
the shore, to his carousals and debaucheries there;
his women's names were heard on the lips of the
crowd; he was openly asked where he had been all
those days on end during which nobody had seen him;
there were demands that Cleomenes, whom he had
made admiral, should be handed over to them; and
nothing was ever nearer happening than the repro-
duction at Syracuse of the precedent set with
Hadrianus at Utica, and the finding of yet another
grave by another wicked governor in another pro-
vince.[a] However, the crowd was restrained by re-
membering that the situation was critical and the
enemy in arms, and had regard, moreover, to the
dignity and credit of Syracuse, where the Roman
citizen body is thought of as adding lustre not merely
to Sicily but to Rome itself. As Verres stood there 95
still dazed and half-awake, they called on one

capiunt, totum forum atque Insulam, quae est urbis magna pars, complent.

Unam illam noctem solam praedones ad Helorum commorati, cum fumantes etiam nostras naves reliquissent, accedere incipiunt Syracusas; qui videlicet saepe audissent nihil esse pulchrius quam Syracusarum moenia ac portus, statuerant se, si ea Verre praetore non vidissent, numquam esse visuros.
96 XXXVII. Ac primo ad illa aestiva praetoris accedunt, ipsam illam ad partem litoris ubi iste per eos dies tabernaculis positis castra luxuriae collocarat. Quem posteaquam inanem locum offenderunt et praetorem commosse ex eo loco castra senserunt, statim sine ullo metu in ipsum portum penetrare coeperunt. Cum in portum dico, iudices—explanandum est enim diligentius eorum causa qui locum ignorant—in urbem dico atque in urbis intimam partem venisse piratas; non enim portu illud oppidum clauditur, sed urbe portus ipse cingitur et continetur, ut non adluantur mari moenia extrema, sed ipse influat in urbis sinum
97 portus. Hic te praetore Heracleo pirata cum quattuor myoparonibus parvis ad arbitrium suum navigavit. Pro di immortales! piraticus myoparo, cum imperii populi Romani nomen ac fasces essent Syracusis, usque ad forum Syracusanorum et ad omnes crepidines urbis accessit, quo neque Carthaginiensium

another to play the man, armed themselves, and occupied the whole of the market-place and that large part of the city called the Island.

After waiting for that one night only off Helorus, the pirates left our vessels still smoking, and set off in the direction of Syracuse. No doubt they had often been told how there was no finer sight than Syracuse with its fortifications and harbours, and concluded that they were never likely to see them if they failed to do so while Verres was governor.
XXXVII. The first place they reached was the 96
governor's famous summer station, the actual point on the coast where Verres during the previous weeks had pitched the tents of his pleasure camp. They found the spot deserted; the governor had plainly struck camp and moved off elsewhere, and they proceeded without misgivings to push on without delay into the harbour itself. And when I say that these pirates entered the harbour, gentlemen—I must explain the lie of the land with especial care for the benefit of those who do not know it—when I say this, I am saying that they entered the city, and the innermost part of the city; for Syracuse is not bounded by the waters of its harbour; rather the harbour is itself encircled and embraced by the city, and instead of the seas washing the outermost part of the walls the harbour waters themselves flow into the city's
very bosom.—And here it was that, while you were 97
governor, Heracleo the pirate and his four small galleys sailed about without let or hindrance. God help us! with Syracuse a part of the Roman empire and governed by a Roman magistrate, a pirate galley has sailed right up to its market-place, to every one of its quays; it has reached a spot that the renowned

gloriosissimae classes, cum mari plurimum poterant, multis bellis saepe conatae umquam aspirare potuerunt, neque populi Romani invicta ante te praetorem gloria illa navalis umquam tot Punicis Siciliensibusque bellis penetrare potuit; qui locus eius modi est ut ante Syracusani in moenibus suis, in urbe, in foro hostem armatum ac victorem quam in portu ullam
98 hostium navem viderint. Hic te praetore praedonum naviculae pervagatae sunt, quo Atheniensium classis sola post hominum memoriam trecentis navibus vi ac multitudine invasit; quae in eo ipso portu loci ipsius portusque natura victa atque superata est. Hic primum opes illius civitatis comminutae depressaeque sunt; in hoc portu Atheniensium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriae naufragium factum existimatur. XXXVIII. Eone pirata penetravit quo simul atque adisset non modo a latere sed etiam a tergo magnam partem urbis relinqueret? Insulam totam praetervectus est, quae est urbs Syracusis suo nomine ac moenibus, quo in loco maiores, ut ante dixi, Syracusanum habitare vetuerunt, quod, qui illam partem urbis tenerent, in
99 eorum potestatem portum futurum intellegebant. At quem ad modum est pervagatus! Radices palmarum agrestium, quas in nostris navibus invenerant, iactabant, ut omnes istius improbitatem et calamitatem Siciliae possent cognoscere. Siculosne milites, aratorumne liberos, quorum patres tantum labore suo

fleets of Carthage at the height of her naval power, despite attempt after attempt in war after war, never succeeded in reaching; a spot to which the glorious navy of Rome, that until you became governor never knew defeat, in all her wars with Carthaginian and Sicilian was never able to penetrate; a spot so situated that the people of Syracuse beheld an enemy's triumphant arms within their ramparts, their city, their market-place, before they beheld a single one of his ships within their harbour. Under your 98
governorship, those tiny pirate vessels sailed about freely where only once within human memory had a fleet forced an entrance, the vast and mighty fleet of Athens with her three hundred ships—and it was defeated and crushed in that same harbour by the sheer strength of that harbour's position. There it was that the hitherto triumphant power of that famous state was shattered and brought low; it was in this harbour that we think of the pride and power and glory of the Athenian people as suffering shipwreck. XXXVIII. What, has a pirate pushed his way in to a spot where the city was not only no longer in front of him but a great part of it left behind him? He sailed right beyond the Island, and the Island at Syracuse counts as a city in its own right and with its own walls; it is the region where, as I have mentioned, our ancestors forbade any Syracusan to dwell, because they saw that the inhabitants of that part of the city would be able to control the harbour. And how triumph- 99
antly he sailed to and fro, his men brandishing the wild-palm roots they had found on board our ships, to tell everyone of Verres' villainy and Sicily's misfortunes, how Sicilian soldiers, the sons of those farmers whose toil grew corn enough to feed the

frumenti exarabant ut populo Romano totique Italiae suppeditare possent, eosne in insula Cereris natos, ubi primum fruges inventae esse dicuntur, eo cibo esse usos a quo maiores eorum ceteros quoque frugibus inventis removerunt! Te praetore Siculi milites palmarum stirpibus, piratae Siculo frumento alebantur!
100 O spectaculum miserum atque acerbum! ludibrio esse urbis gloriam, populi Romani nomen, nostrorum hominum[1] conventum atque multitudinem piratico myoparoni! in portu Syracusano de classe populi Romani triumphum agere piratam, cum praetoris inertissimi nequissimique oculos praedonum remi respergerent!

Posteaquam e portu piratae non metu aliquo affecti sed satietate exierunt, tum coeperunt quaerere homines causam illius tantae calamitatis. Dicere omnes et palam disputare minime esse mirandum si, remigibus militibusque dimissis, reliquis egestate et fame perditis, praetore tot dies cum mulierculis perpotante,
101 tanta ignominia et calamitas esset accepta. Haec autem istius vituperatio atque infamia confirmabatur eorum sermone qui a suis civitatibus illis navibus praepositi fuerant. Qui ex illo numero reliqui Syracusas classe amissa refugerant dicebant quot ex sua quisque nave missos sciret esse. Res erat clara, neque solum argumentis sed etiam certis testibus istius audacia

[1] nostrorum hominum *is my conjecture: the MSS. have simply* hominum: *other conjectures are* omnium hominum (*Peterson*), tot hominum, tantum hominum, hominum honestissimorum.

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[a] For the reading *nostrorum hominum* see the textual note. The above rendering takes *urbis* to mean not Syracuse but Rome, and *conventum et multitudinem* as a hendiadys.

people of Rome and all Italy—how these men, the natives of Ceres' own island, where corn, they tell us, was first discovered, had had to eat the wretched food from which, by the discovery of corn, their forefathers rescued themselves and all the world beside. Sicilian soldiers fed on palm roots, Sicilian corn was the food of pirates—when you were governor of Sicily!—Think of that pitiful, miserable scene! think 100
of the glory of Rome, the honour of the Roman people, the multitude of Roman[a] citizens dwelling there, mocked and insulted by that pirate galley! think of that pirate celebrating his victory over the Roman fleet by a triumphal procession in the harbour of Syracuse, his oars dashing spray in the face of this indolent scoundrel of a governor!

When the pirates had sailed out of the harbour again—not frightened away, but simply satiated—people began to ask what had led to this disaster. Everyone said, and argued quite openly, that with all those oarsmen and soldiers exempted from service, with the rest of them broken down through want of food and necessaries, and with the governor spending day after day on drinking-bouts with his women, this shameful and deplorable occurrence was only to have been expected. These attacks on Verres' conduct 101
and character were supported by the captains of the ships, to the command of which they had been appointed by their several communities. Each of these captains who had escaped to Syracuse after the loss of the fleet stated the number of men whom he knew to have been exempted from service in his own ship. The whole thing was plain enough; Verres' shameless misconduct was proved beyond doubt not only by circumstantial evidence but by direct testimony.

tenebatur. XXXIX. Homo certior fit agi nihil in foro et conventu toto die nisi hoc, quaeri ex nauarchis quem ad modum classis sit amissa; illos respondere et docere unum quemque, missione remigum, fame reliquorum, Cleomenis timore et fuga. Quod posteaquam iste cognovit, hanc rationem habere coepit. Causam sibi dicendam esse statuerat iam ante quam hoc usu venit, ita ut ipsum priore actione dicere audistis. Videbat illis nauarchis testibus tantum hoc crimen sustinere se nullo modo posse. Consilium
102 capit primo stultum, verum tamen clemens. Nauarchos ad se vocari iubet; veniunt. Accusat eos quod eius modi de se sermones habuerint; rogat ut in sua quisque dicat navi se tantum habuisse nautarum quantum oportuerit, neque quemquam esse dimissum. Illi enim vero se ostendunt quod vellet esse facturos. Iste non procrastinat, advocat amicos statim, quaerit ex iis singillatim quot quisque nautas habuerit; respondit unus quisque, ut erat praeceptum: iste in tabulas refert, obsignat signis amicorum providens homo, ut contra hoc crimen, si quando opus esset,
103 hac videlicet testificatione uteretur. Derisum esse credo hominem amentem a suis consiliariis, et admonitum hasce ei tabulas nihil profuturas, etiam plus ex nimia praetoris diligentia suspicionis in eo crimine futurum. Iam iste erat hac stultitia multis in rebus usus ut publice quoque quae vellet in litteris civi-

XXXIX. Verres was informed that all day long the whole attention of the market-place and the Roman citizen community was devoted to questioning the captains about how the fleet was lost, and these men in reply were telling one person after another that it was due to the exemption of so many rowers from duty, the starvation of the remainder, and the cowardly flight of Cleomenes. This information set him thinking. As you heard him say himself during the first part of this trial, he had already made up his mind, before this happened, that he was sure to be prosecuted. He perceived that if the captains gave their evidence he could not possibly meet this grave charge. His first plan was foolish, but still not cruel.
He sent for the captains, and when they appeared, 102
reprimanded them for talking about him as they had; he then requested that each of them would state that he had had the proper number of sailors in his ship, and that no one had been exempted from duty. They, it must be said, signified their readiness to do what he wished. Thereupon without loss of time he had his friends summoned to his presence, and then asked the captains one by one how many sailors he had had; each of them returned the prescribed answer, which Verres caused to be written down and sealed with his friends' seals, with the far-sighted intention, we may assume, of using this testimony in case of need as a defence against the charge
we are considering. I take it that the fool's own 103
councillors laughed at him, and pointed out to him that this written record would do him no service, and that in fact a governor's taking such excessive precautions would be a further reason for believing the charge justified. It was by no means the first time that he had employed this stupid device, even ordering the official deletion or insertion of passages in

tatum tolli et referri iuberet ; quae omnia nunc intel-
legit sibi nihil prodesse, posteaquam certis litteris
testibus auctoritatibusque convincitur. XL. Ubi hoc
videt, illorum confessionem, testificationem suam,
tabellas sibi nullo adiumento futuras, init consilium
non improbi praetoris (nam id quidem esset ferendum)
sed importuni atque amentis tyranni : statuit, si hoc
crimen extenuari vellet (nam omnino tolli posse non
arbitrabatur), nauarchos omnes, testes sui sceleris,
104 vita esse privandos. Occurrebat illa ratio : " Quid
Cleomene fiet ? poterone animum advertere in eos
quos dicto audientes esse iussi, missum facere eum cui
potestatem imperiumque permisi ? poterone eos
afficere supplicio qui Cleomenen secuti sunt, ignoscere
Cleomeni qui secum fugere et se consequi iussit ?
poterone esse in eos vehemens qui naves non modo
inanes habuerunt sed etiam apertas, in eum dissolutus
qui solus habuerit constratam navem et minus ex-
inanitam ? Pereat Cleomenes una ! " Ubi fides, ubi
exsecrationes, ubi dexterae complexusque, ubi illud
contubernium muliebris militiae in illo delicatissimo
litore ? Fieri nullo modo poterat quin Cleomeni par-
105 ceretur. Vocat Cleomenen, dicit ei se statuisse ani-
mum advertere in omnes nauarchos ; ita sui periculi
rationes ferre ac postulare. " Tibi uni parcam, et
potius istius culpae crimen vituperationemque incon-
stantiae suscipiam quam aut in te sim crudelis aut tot
tam graves testes vivos incolumesque esse patiar."

various town records to suit his wishes ; all of which,
he is now aware, is doing his cause no good, since
there is the definite authority of written and spoken
evidence to prove his guilt. XL. When he saw that
the captains' statements and his own declarations
and written records would avail him nothing, he
embarked on a plan which was not so much that of an
unscrupulous magistrate—this would have been toler-
able—as that of a savage insane despot. He decided
that if he meant to weaken the force of this charge—
he saw no hope of eliminating it altogether—all those
captains, the men who could swear to his guilt, must
be put to death. One thought kept recurring to him: 104
" What is to be done with Cleomenes ? Can I pos-
sibly punish subordinates and yet let off the man
whom I put in full authority over them ? can I
execute the men who followed Cleomenes' lead, and
acquit Cleomenes who ordered them to follow after
him and join him in running away ? can I be severe
with men who had ships with no crews and no decks,
and indulgent to the one man who had a decked ship
and a less depleted crew ? Let Cleomenes hang
with the rest ! " Ah, but what of those promises and
vows of affection, those clasped hands and embraces
of friendship, that comradeship in the tents of love's
battle-field on yonder shore of dainty dalliance ? No,
at all costs Cleomenes must be spared. So he sends 105
for Cleomenes, and tells him that he is resolved to
punish all the captains : considerations of his own
safety require and demand this. " I will spare you
and you only ; I will rather expose myself to being
held responsible for your misconduct and blamed for
weak partiality than either be cruel to you or leave
alive and unharmed so many damaging witnesses

Agit gratias Cleomenes, approbat consilium, dicit ita fieri oportere; admonet tamen illud, quod istum fugerat, in Phalacrum, Centuripinum nauarchum, non posse animadverti, propterea quod secum una fuisset in Centuripina quadriremi. Quid ergo? iste homo ex eius modi civitate, adulescens nobilissimus, testis relinquetur? "In praesentia," inquit Cleomenes, "quoniam ita necesse est; sed post aliquid videbimus ne iste nobis obstare possit."

106 XLI. Haec posteaquam acta et constituta sunt, procedit iste repente e praetorio, inflammatus scelere, furore, crudelitate; in forum venit, nauarchos vocari iubet. Qui nihil metuerent, nihil suspicarentur, statim accurrunt. Iste hominibus miseris innocentibus inici catenas imperat. Implorare illi fidem praetoris et qua re id faceret rogare. Tum iste hoc causae dicit, quod classem praedonibus prodidissent. Fit clamor et admiratio populi, tantam esse in homine impudentiam atque audaciam ut aut aliis causam calamitatis attribueret quae omnis propter avaritiam ipsius accidisset, aut cum ipse praedonum socius arbitraretur aliis proditionis crimen inferret; deinde hoc quinto decimo die crimen esse natum postquam classis
107 esset amissa. Cum haec ita fierent, quaerebatur ubi esset Cleomenes; non quo illum ipsum, cuicuimodi est, quisquam supplicio propter illud incommodum dignum putaret; nam quid Cleomenes facere potuit? non enim possum quemquam insimulare falso; quid, inquam, magno opere potuit Cleomenes facere istius

against me." Cleomenes thanks him, approves of his plan, and tells him he is quite right, but at the same time reminds him of one point he had overlooked: Phalacrus the Centuripan captain cannot be punished, because he was along with Cleomenes himself in the Centuripan quadrireme. Well, but then shall Phalacrus, a young man of such high standing and the citizen of so famous a city, be left to give his evidence? "For the moment, yes," says Cleomenes, "as we can't help it: but presently we will take steps to prevent his giving us trouble."

XLI. This plan made and agreed upon, Verres 106
hurried off from the governor's residence to the market-place, hot with his wicked, insane, cruel purpose. He sent for the captains, who promptly appeared, having no fear or suspicion of any trouble; whereupon he ordered the poor innocent fellows to be arrested and chained. They protested earnestly against this treatment, and begged to know the reason for it; to which he replied that the reason was that they had betrayed the fleet to the pirates. There was a loud outcry from the astonished bystanders: could the man be so impudent and reckless as to make others responsible for a disaster wholly due to his own cupidity, or to charge others with treachery when he was believed to be in league with the pirates himself? and why, moreover, had the charge not been brought
until a fortnight after the loss of the fleet? And 107
where, by the way, was Cleomenes? Not that anyone thought that Cleomenes himself, whatever his character might be, deserved punishment for the reverse in question. What could Cleomenes have done? I cannot bring a false charge against anyone; and I repeat, what is there, worth mentioning, that Cleo-

avaritia navibus exinanitis? Atque eum vident sedere ad latus praetoris, et ad aurem familiariter ut solitus erat insusurrare. Tum vero omnibus indignissimum visum est homines honestissimos electos e suis civitatibus in ferrum atque in vincla coniectos, Cleomenem propter flagitiorum ac turpitudinum
108 societatem familiarissimum esse praetori. Apponitur eis tamen accusator Naevius Turpio quidam, qui C. Sacerdote praetore iniuriarum damnatus est, homo bene appositus ad istius audaciam, quem iste in decumis, in rebus capitalibus, in omni calumnia praecursorem habere solebat et emissarium.

XLII. Veniunt Syracusas parentes propinquique miserorum adulescentium, hoc repentino calamitatis suae nuntio commoti; vinctos aspiciunt catenis liberos suos, cum istius avaritiae poenam collo et cervicibus suis sustinerent; adsunt, defendunt, proclamant, fidem tuam, quae nusquam erat neque umquam fuerat, implorant. Pater aderat Dexo Tyndaritanus, homo nobilissimus, hospes tuus. Cuius tu domi fueras, quem hospitem appellaras, eum cum illa auctoritate miseria videres perditum, non te eius lacrimae, non senectus, non hospitii ius atque nomen a scelere aliquam ad partem humanitatis

menes could have done with ships that Verres' greed had denuded of their men? But then he was observed sitting beside the governor and whispering to him in his usual familiar fashion; whereupon there was a general burst of indignation at the chaining and imprisonment of men of high standing who had been publicly chosen to command their several cities' ships, while Cleomenes remained the governor's friend and intimate because he was a partner in the governor's disgraceful
debaucheries. Well, a man was at least put up to 108
prosecute the prisoners—one Naevius Turpio, who had been found guilty of assault when Gaius Sacerdos was governor; a most suitable tool for the unscrupulous Verres, who had used him regularly as an agent and go-between in dealing with tithes, prosecutions on capital charges, and false accusations of every description.

XLII. The parents and relatives of these unhappy young men, alarmed by the news of this blow that had fallen upon them, came to Syracuse, and there they saw their sons chained and bound, their sons' necks and shoulders bearing the penalty for that which Verres' cupidity had brought to pass. They came into court, pleaded for them, cried aloud for mercy, appealed to your sense of justice,—a thing which had no existence, then or ever. Among those fathers was Dexo of Tyndaris, a man of the highest standing, whose guest you had been. You had stayed in his house; you had called him host; and now that you saw this highly respected man overwhelmed with misery, could not his tears, could not his grey hairs, could not the sacred bond of hospitality, turn you from your wickedness to show some little measure of

109 revocare potuit? Sed quid ego hospitii iura in hac immani belua commemoro? Qui Sthenium Thermitanum, hospitem suum, cuius domum per hospitium exhausit et exinanivit, absentem in reos rettulerit, causa indicta capite damnarit, ab eo nunc hospitiorum iura atque officia quaeramus? Cum homine enim crudeli nobis res est an cum fera atque immani belua? Te patris lacrimae de innocentis filii periculo non movebant: cum patrem domi reliquisses, filium tecum haberes, te neque praesens filius de liberum caritate neque absens pater
110 de indulgentia patria commonebat? Catenas habebat hospes tuus Aristeus, Dexonis filius. Quid ita? "Prodiderat classem." Quod ob praemium? "Deseruerat." Quid Cleomenes? "Ignavus fuerat." At eum tu ob virtutem corona ante donaras. "Dimiserat nautas." At ab omnibus tu mercedem missionis acceperas. Alter parens ex altera parte erat Herbitensis Eubulida, homo domi suae clarus et nobilis; qui quia Cleomenem in defendendo filio laeserat, nudus paene est destitutus. Quid erat autem quod quisquam diceret aut defenderet? "Cleomenem nominare non licet." At causa cogit. "Moriere, si appellaris;" numquam enim iste cuiquam est mediocriter minatus. At remiges non erant. "Praetorem tu accuses? frange cervices." Si neque praetorem neque prae-

humanity?—But why do I speak of the bond of 109
hospitality in connexion with this beast and monster? He had been the guest of Sthenius of Thermae, and he had stripped his host's house of everything it contained, caused him to be prosecuted in his absence, sentenced him to a capital penalty with his case untried: shall we expect him now to regard a host's rights or discharge a guest's duties? Nay, is it the cruelty of a human being that we have here—is it not the monstrous savagery of a wild beast?—Your heart was untouched by this father's tears, tears called forth by his innocent son's peril. You had left a father behind you, you had a son with you: but your son who was with you could not remind you how dear children are to their parents, nor your absent father
how tenderly a father loves his son. Aristeus your 110
host, Dexo's son, was there in chains. And why? For betraying the fleet? and for what reward? For running away? and what did Cleomenes do? For cowardice? why, you had already decorated him for bravery. For allowing his sailors off duty? why, you had pocketed the exemption fee from everyone of them.—Yonder, again, stood Eubulidas of Herbita, a man of rank and distinction in his own town, who, for saying something against Cleomenes while trying to defend his own son, had the clothes all but torn off his back. Yet what plea, what defence, could anyone put forward? "No reference must be made to Cleomenes." I must, in my own defence. "Breathe his name, and you are a dead man"—Verres' threats were never half-hearted affairs. Why, but there was the shortage of rowers. "Would you make charges against the governor? break his neck for him." Well, what is to be done, if we may not refer either to the

toris aemulum appellari licebit cum in his duobus tota causa sit, quid futurum est?

111 XLIII. Dicit etiam causam Heraclius[1] Segestanus, homo domi suae nobilissimo loco natus. Audite ut vestra humanitas postulat, iudices; audietis enim de magnis incommodis iniuriisque sociorum. Hunc scitote fuisse Heraclium in ea causa, qui propter gravem morbum oculorum tum non navigarit, et iussu eius qui potestatem habuit in commeatu Syracusis remanserit. Is certe neque classem prodidit neque metu perterritus fugit neque exercitum deseruit; etenim tum esset hoc animadvertendum cum classis Syracusis proficiscebatur. Is tamen in eadem causa fuit quasi esset in aliquo manifesto scelere deprehensus, in quem ne falsi quidem causa conferri criminis potuit.

112 Fuit in illis nauarchis Heracliensis quidam Furius (nam habent illi non nulla huiusce modi Latina nomina), homo, quam diu vixit, non domi suae solum, post mortem tota Sicilia clarus et nobilis. In quo homine tantum animi fuit non solum ut istum libere laederet—nam id quidem, quoniam moriundum videbat, sine periculo se facere intellegebat—verum morte proposita, cum lacrimans in carcere mater noctes diesque assideret, defensionem causae suae scripsit; quam nunc nemo est in Sicilia quin habeat, quin legat, quin tui sceleris et crudelitatis ex illa oratione commonefiat. In qua docet quot a civitate

[1] Heracleus *Peterson with good MS. support.*

governor or to the governor's lady's husband, and the whole of our defence is concerned with these two men?

XLIII. Among the accused persons was Heraclius of Segesta, a member of one of the best families in that city. Gentlemen, my story should appeal to your sympathetic hearts; for it is a story of great suffering, and great wrong, inflicted on our Sicilian allies. You are to know that the position of Heraclius was that owing to serious eye trouble he did not on this occasion go to sea, but by the orders of the person in authority remained behind at Syracuse on leave of absence. He, most certainly, did not betray the fleet, or run away in a panic, or leave his post of duty—or why was he not punished at the time when the fleet sailed from Syracuse? Yet he was treated as if he had been caught red-handed in the commission of some criminal act, a man against whom there was no pretext for bringing even an unfounded charge of misconduct. 111

One of these captains was a certain Furius of Heraclia—for some of those folk have such Latin names as this—a man of note and distinction beyond the limits of his own town even during his lifetime, and throughout all Sicily since his death. He possessed such courage as not only to denounce Verres without reserve—knowing himself a doomed man, he was aware that he risked nothing by acting thus—but with death looking him in the face, while day and night his mother sat weeping by his side in the prison, he composed a written speech in his own defence; and there is no one in Sicily to-day who does not possess this speech, and read it, and learn from it, Verres, the tale of your crimes and your cruelty. In 112

toris aemulum appellari licebit cum in his duobus tota causa sit, quid futurum est?

111 XLIII. Dicit etiam causam Heraclius[1] Segestanus, homo domi suae nobilissimo loco natus. Audite ut vestra humanitas postulat, iudices; audietis enim de magnis incommodis iniuriisque sociorum. Hunc scitote fuisse Heraclium in ea causa, qui propter gravem morbum oculorum tum non navigarit, et iussu eius qui potestatem habuit in commeatu Syracusis remanserit. Is certe neque classem prodidit neque metu perterritus fugit neque exercitum deseruit; etenim tum esset hoc animadvertendum cum classis Syracusis proficiscebatur. Is tamen in eadem causa fuit quasi esset in aliquo manifesto scelere deprehensus, in quem ne falsi quidem causa conferri criminis potuit.

112 Fuit in illis nauarchis Heracliensis quidam Furius (nam habent illi non nulla huiusce modi Latina nomina), homo, quam diu vixit, non domi suae solum, post mortem tota Sicilia clarus et nobilis. In quo homine tantum animi fuit non solum ut istum libere laederet—nam id quidem, quoniam moriundum videbat, sine periculo se facere intellegebat—verum morte proposita, cum lacrimans in carcere mater noctes diesque assideret, defensionem causae suae scripsit; quam nunc nemo est in Sicilia quin habeat, quin legat, quin tui sceleris et crudelitatis ex illa oratione commonefiat. In qua docet quot a civitate

[1] Heracleus *Peterson with good MS. support.*

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sua nautas acceperit, quot et quanti quemque dimiserit, quot secum habuerit; item de ceteris navibus dicit; quae cum apud te diceret, virgis oculi verberabantur. Ille morte proposita facile dolorem corporis patiebatur; clamabat, id quod scriptum reliquit, facinus esse indignum plus impudicissimae mulieris apud te de Cleomenis salute savia[1] quam de sua vita
113 lacrimas matris valere. Deinde etiam illud video esse dictum, quod, si recte vos populos Romanus cognovit, non falso ille de vobis iam in morte ipsa praedicavit, non posse Verrem testes interficiendo ius[2] exstinguere; graviorem apud sapientes iudices se fore ab inferis testem quam si vivus in iudicium produceretur; tum avaritiae solum, si viveret, nunc, cum ita esset necatus, sceleris, audaciae, crudelitatis testem fore. Iam illa praeclara: non testium modo catervas, cum tua res ageretur, sed ab dis manibus innocentium Poenas sceleratorumque[3] Furias in tuum iudicium esse venturas; sese ideo leviorem suum casum fingere quod iam ante aciem securium tuarum Sextiique, tui carnificis, vultum et manum vidisset, cum in conventu civium Romanorum iussu tuo securi cives Romani
114 ferirentur. Ne multa, iudices, libertate quam vos

[1] savia *is a widely-accepted conjectural insertion*: *Peterson suggests* os *after* plus.

[2] nos *most good MSS.*: ius *Mueller*: testimonium *Peterson*: crimina sua *some MSS.*

[3] sceleratorumque *Peterson with the less good MSS.*: scelere quam quae *the better MSS.*: scelerumque *most editors.*

it he tells how many sailors his town assigned him, how many he exempted from duty, what sum was paid for these exemptions, how many men he had with him; and he also tells us about the other ships. These facts he stated before you in court, whereupon he was beaten across the face with rods. With certain death before him, he bore the pain calmly enough, loudly declaring what he has left us in writing, how foul a shame it was that the kisses of an adulterous woman should have more power to make you acquit Cleomenes than the tears of a mother to make you spare his own life.—And I learn that he said another 113
thing, a dying man's testimony to yourselves, gentlemen, which, if Rome is not deceived in you, was fully justified. Verres, he said, may kill the witnesses, but he cannot put justice to death. I in the grave shall give such evidence as in the eyes of discerning judges will count for more than if I were being called into court as a living witness. Alive, I could but testify to the man's cupidity: thus slaughtered, I shall testify to his shameless and wicked cruelty. It is not—he finely observes—not only the troop of witnesses, O Verres, that will appear before your judges at your trial, but the avenging spirits arising from the graves of innocent men, and the Furies that pursue the guilty scoundrel. My own fate, he cries, seems a smaller thing because I have already beheld your axe sharpened, looked upon the face of Sextius your executioner, and seen what his hands did, when here in this home of Roman citizens the axe by your orders fell upon Roman citizens' necks.—In a word, 114
gentlemen: you have granted our allies freedom, and

sociis dedistis, hac ille in acerbissimo supplicio miserrimae servitutis abusus est.

XLIV. Condemnat omnes de consilii sententia; tamen neque iste in tanta re tot hominum T. Vettium ad se arcessit, quaestorem suum, cuius consilio uteretur, neque P. Cervium, talem virum, legatum, qui quia legatus isto praetore in Sicilia fuit primus ab isto iudex reiectus est; sed de latronum, hoc est de comi-
115 tum suorum sententia condemnat omnes. Hic cuncti Siculi, fidelissimi atque antiquissimi socii, plurimis affecti beneficiis a maioribus nostris, graviter commoventur et de suis periculis fortunisque omnibus pertimescunt; indigne ferunt illam clementiam mansuetudinemque nostri imperii in tantam crudelitatem inhumanitatemque esse conversam, condemnari tot homines uno tempore nullo crimine, defensionem suorum furtorum praetorem improbum ex indignissima morte innocentium quaerere.

Nihil addi iam videtur, iudices, ad hanc improbitatem amentiam crudelitatemque posse, et recte nihil videtur. Nam si cum aliorum improbitate certet,
116 longe omnes multumque superabit: secum[1] ipse certat, id agit ut semper superius suum facinus novo scelere vincat. Phalacrum Centuripinum dixeram exceptum esse a Cleomene, quod in eius quadriremi Cleomenes vectus esset; tamen, quia pertimuerat

[1] *The MSS. read variously* secum, sed secum, sed cum.

this freedom Furius used to the full, while suffering the most cruel death as if he were the most miserable of slaves.

XLIV. Verres pronounced them all found guilty by his court. And what was this court that sat to try so many men on a charge so fearful? He did not call on his quaestor Titus Vettius to assist its deliberations, nor on the assistant governor Publius Cervius—this worthy man was the first whom Verres challenged as one of his own judges, because he had been assistant governor while Verres was governor. No; he found all those men guilty in accordance with the verdict of his own suite—the verdict, in other words,
of a band of robbers. And now all the Sicilians, 115
those most ancient and faithful allies whom our forefathers loaded with benefits, were stricken with consternation, terrified by the threat to their own lives and welfare. They were appalled by the change from the former mildness and gentleness of our rule into such barbarous cruelty, by the simultaneous condemnation of all those guiltless men, by the endeavour of our villainous governor to escape punishment for his own robberies by putting the blameless and innocent to death.

You will think, gentlemen, that the man's insane villainy and cruelty must now have reached its limit. And it is but natural that you should think so. In competition with other scoundrels he would easily
leave them all far behind. But he is his own com- 116
petitor; with each new crime his aim is to break his previous record. I have said that Phalacrus of Centuripa was removed from the list at the suggestion of Cleomenes because Cleomenes had been in his quadrireme. The young man was none the less in a

adulescens, quod eandem suam causam videbat esse quam illorum qui innocentes peribant, accedit ad hominem Timarchides; a securi negat esse ei periculum, virgis ne caederetur monet ut caveat. Ne multa, ipsum dicere adulescentem audistis se ob hunc
117 metum pecuniam Timarchidi numerasse. Levia sunt haec in hoc reo. Metum virgarum nauarchus, homo nobilissimus suae civitatis, pretio redemit: humanum est. Alius ne condemnaretur pecuniam dedit: usitatum est. Non vult populus Romanus obsoletis criminibus accusari Verrem; nova postulat, inaudita desiderat; non de praetore Siciliae sed de nefario tyranno fieri iudicium arbitratur.

XLV. Includuntur in carcerem condemnati; supplicium constituitur in illos, sumitur de miseris parentibus nauarchorum; prohibentur adire ad filios, pro-
118 hibentur liberis suis cibum vestitumque ferre. Patres hi quos videtis iacebant in limine; matresque miserae pernoctabant ad ostium carceris ab extremo conspectu liberum exclusae, quae nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum suorum postremum spiritum ore excipere liceret. Aderat ianitor carceris, carnifex praetoris, mors terrorque sociorum et civium Romanorum, lictor Sextius, cui ex omni gemitu doloreque certa merces comparabatur. "Ut adeas, tantum dabis; ut cibum tibi vestitumque intro ferre liceat, tantum." Nemo

state of great uneasiness, knowing his position to be the same as that of the innocent persons already doomed to die. So Timarchides went to see him, and told him that he was in no danger of execution, but had better take steps to avoid being flogged. I spare you the details: you have heard from the young man's own lips how he was thus frightened
into giving a bribe to Timarchides. But such charges 117
are trifles when it is Verres who is standing his trial. What if he did make this ship's captain, the most notable man in his own community, secure himself by bribery against being flogged? Men do behave thus. What if he took money to acquit some other person? Such a thing has been done before. This nation does not expect us to bring stale charges against Verres. It demands novelties; it yearns for the unprecedented; for this, it feels, is not the trial of a Sicilian governor, but the trial of some foul and evil despot.

XLV. The condemned men were thrust into prison, and the agonies decreed for them were exacted forthwith from their hapless parents, who were forbidden access to their sons, forbidden to bring
their own children food and clothing. The fathers 118
—you see them here in court—lay crouched in the doorway; the unhappy mothers passed the nights at the prison entrance, cut off from the last sight of their children, begging for nothing but permission to receive with their lips their sons' parting breath. The prison warder would come along, the governor's executioner, bringer of death and death's terrors to the allies and citizens of Rome—Sextius the lictor; and every groan and pang meant a scheduled profit for him. "So much for leave to see him—so much to be allowed to bring in food and clothing"—and

recusabat. "Quid? ut uno ictu securis afferam mortem filio tuo, quid dabis? ne diu crucietur, ne saepius feriatur, ne cum sensu doloris aliquo spiritus auferatur?" Etiam ob hanc causam pecunia lictori
119 dabatur. O magnum atque intolerandum dolorem! o gravem acerbamque fortunam! Non vitam liberum sed mortis celeritatem pretio redimere cogebantur parentes. Atque ipsi etiam adulescentes cum Sextio suo de plaga et de uno illo ictu loquebantur, idque postremum parentes suos liberi orabant, ut levandi cruciatus sui causa lictori pecunia daretur.

Multi et graves dolores inventi parentibus et propinquis, multi; verum tamen mors sit extremum. Non erit. Estne aliquid ultra quo crudelitas progredi possit? Reperietur; nam illorum, cum erunt securi percussi ac necati, corpora feris obicientur. Hoc si luctuosum est parentibus, redimant pretio sepeliendi
120 potestatem. Onasum Segestanum, hominem nobilem, dicere audistis se ob sepulturam Heraclii nauarchi pecuniam Timarchidi numerasse: ne hoc possis dicere, "Patres enim veniunt amissis filiis irati," vir primarius, homo nobilissimus, dicit, neque de filio dicit. Iam hoc quis tum fuit Syracusis quin audierit, quin sciat, has Timarchidi pactiones sepulturae cum vivis etiam illis esse factas? Non palam cum Timarchide loquebantur, non omnes omnium propinqui adhibebantur, non palam vivorum funera locabantur?

[a] And therefore their evidence against Verres is prejudiced and untrustworthy.

everyone paid up. "Well now, what offers for making an end of your son with one blow of my axe—no long suffering, no repeated blows, no feeling of pain as he gives up the ghost?" Yes, the lictor got his money
for this too. Think of that unbearable burden of pain, 119
of the anguish that racked those unhappy parents, thus compelled to purchase for their children by bribery not life but a speedy death. Nay, the poor lads themselves discussed the fatal blow, the single stroke of the axe, with their good Sextius, and their last petition to their fathers and mothers was that money might be paid to the lictor to have their suffering lightened.

Well, we see many forms of torture devised for those parents and relatives—many indeed, and horrible; but these will surely end with their children's death? They will not. Why, is there any way for cruelty to go further still? A way will be found: when the axe has fallen and killed the lads, their corpses will be flung to the beasts; or if that distresses their parents, let their parents pay for
permission to bury them. You have heard Onasus, a 120
well-known citizen of Segesta, testify that he paid money to Timarchides for leave to bury the captain Heraclius. It is thus useless to argue that of course the bereaved fathers attending this trial are exasperated by their loss[a]; for here we have the statement of a gentleman of the highest standing who is not one of those fathers. And here is a thing that everyone then at Syracuse heard of and knows to be true, that these burial bargains were struck with Timarchides even by the victims themselves before they died. They discussed the matter with the man openly; all of them called in all their relatives to help them, and arranged while yet alive for their own funeral rites.

Quibus omnibus rebus actis atque decisis producun-
121 tur e carcere, deligantur. XLVI. Quis tam fuit illo tempore ferreus, quis tam inhumanus praeter unum te, qui non illorum aetate, nobilitate, miseria commoveretur? ecquis fuit quin lacrimaret, quin ita calamitatem illam putaret illorum ut fortunam tamen non alienam, periculum autem commune arbitraretur? Feriuntur securi. Laetaris tu in omnium gemitu et triumphas; testes avaritiae tuae gaudes esse sublatos. Errabas, Verres, et vehementer errabas, cum te maculas furtorum et flagitiorum tuorum sociorum innocentium sanguine eluere arbitrabare; praeceps amentia ferebare, qui te existimares avaritiae vulnera crudelitatis remediis posse sanare. Etenim quamquam illi sunt mortui sceleris tui testes, tamen eorum propinqui neque tibi neque illis desunt, tamen ex ipso illo numero nauarchorum aliqui vivunt et adsunt, quos, ut mihi videtur, ad illorum innocentium poenas fortuna
122 et ad hanc causam reservavit. Adest Phylarchus Haluntinus, qui quia cum Cleomene non fugit oppressus a praedonibus et captus est; cui calamitas saluti fuit; qui nisi captus a piratis esset, in hunc praedonem sociorum incidisset. Dicit is pro testimonio de missione nautarum, de fame, de Cleomenis fuga. Adest Centuripinus Phalacrus in amplissima civitate amplissimo loco natus; eadem dicit, nulla in re discrepat.

All these negotiations being concluded and settled, they were taken from prison and bound to the stake.
—XLVI. And who now was so stony-hearted, who so 121
inhuman, save yourself alone, as not to be moved with pity for the unhappy fate of these young men whom all knew so well? Was there anyone who did not weep —who did not feel those men's calamity as a blow that struck himself and menaced the lives of all? The axe fell on them; a cry of grief went up; you alone rejoiced and triumphed, happy in the removal of those witnesses to your cupidity. But you were wrong, Verres, wildly wrong, in thinking to wash away the plague-spots of your thefts and debaucheries in the blood of those guiltless allies of ours. It was the headlong folly of a madman to suppose that the damage your greed had done you could be cured by the application of cruelty. Those witnesses to your wickedness are indeed no more: none the less, their kinsmen turn their backs neither on them nor on you; and none the less, some of those same captains are alive and here in court; preserved by destiny, as I must think, to appear in this trial and to avenge their
innocent comrades. Phylarchus of Haluntium is 122
with us, who did not run away when Cleomenes did, and was in consequence caught and captured by the pirates—a disaster that saved him, for unless the pirates had captured him, he would have fallen a prey to this buccaneer who has plundered all Sicily. He has told us in his evidence of the exemption of sailors from duty, of the food shortage, of how Cleomenes ran away. And Phalacrus of Centuripa is with us, a distinguished citizen of a distinguished city; and his testimony agrees with that of Phylarchus in every detail.

123 Per deos immortales! quo tandem animo sedetis, iudices, aut haec quem ad modum auditis? Utrum ego desipio et plus quam satis est doleo tanta calamitate miseriaque sociorum, an vos quoque hic acerbissimus innocentium cruciatus et maeror pari sensu doloris afficit? Ego enim cum Herbitensem, cum Heracliensem securi percussum esse dico, versatur mihi ante oculos indignitas calamitatis. XLVII. Eorumne populorum cives, eorum agrorum alumnos, ex quibus maxima vis frumenti quotannis plebi Romanae illorum operis ac laboribus quaeritur, qui a parentibus spe nostri imperii nostraeque aequitatis suscepti educatique sunt, ad C. Verris nefariam immanitatem et
124 ad eius funestam securem esse servatos? Cum mihi Tyndaritani illius venit in mentem, cum Segestani, tum iura simul civitatum atque officia considero. Quas urbes P. Africanus etiam ornandas esse spoliis hostium arbitratus est, eas C. Verres non solum illis ornamentis sed etiam viris nobilissimis nefario scelere privavit. En quod Tyndaritani libenter praedicent: "Nos in septemdecim populis Siciliae numeramur, nos semper omnibus Punicis Siciliensibusque bellis amicitiam fidemque populi Romani secuti sumus, a nobis omnia populo Romano semper et belli adiumenta et pacis ornamenta ministrata sunt." Multum

Now what, in God's name I ask you, are your feelings and thoughts, gentlemen, as you sit there and hear me speak these words? Is my own judgement astray? are the calamities that have befallen our unhappy allies distressing me more than is reasonable? Or are the agonies of pain and grief inflicted on these innocent persons causing yourselves equal distress? For my own part, when I tell you of men of Herbita and Heraclia dying by the executioner's axe, my imagination is stirred vividly by the shameful injustice of their fate. XLVII. Citizens of the states, born and brought up amid the fields, from which year by year, through their toil and labour, corn in vast abundance is procured to feed the populace of Rome, have they been reared and trained by their parents with the fairest hopes from Roman rule and Roman justice, only to fall the victims of this man Verres' inhuman wickedness and his executioner's hideous axe? When I think of the 124
captains from Tyndaris and Segesta, my thoughts dwell on the privileges that Tyndaris and Segesta have enjoyed and the services that they have rendered. Scipio judged that the spoils of war might fitly be applied to making these cities even fairer than they were: the wicked villainy of Verres has robbed them not only of those things of beauty but of her noblest sons as well. Thus might the people of Tyndaris be proud to speak of themselves: "We are counted among the seventeen loyal states of Sicily; we, throughout the Punic and Sicilian wars, never broke our ties of friendship with the Roman nation; we have never ceased to supply the Roman nation with all that might contribute to its success in time of war and its prosperity in time of peace."

vero haec iis iura profuerunt in istius imperio ac potes-
125 tate ! Vestros quondam nautas contra Carthaginem Scipio duxit, at nunc navem contra praedones paene inanem Cleomenes ducit; vobiscum Africanus hostium spolia et praemia laudis communicavit, at nunc per Verrem[1] spoliati, nave a praedonibus abducta, ipsi in hostium loco numeroque ducimini. Quid vero ? illa Segestanorum non solum litteris tradita neque commemorata verbis, sed multis officiis illorum usurpata et comprobata cognatio quos tandem fructus huiusce necessitudinis in istius imperio tulit ? Nempe hoc iure fuit, iudices, ut ex sinu patriae nobilissimus adulescens[2] istius carnifici Sextio dederetur. Cui civitati maiores nostri maximos agros atque optimos concesserunt, quam immunem esse voluerunt, haec apud te cognationis, fidelitatis, vetustatis, auctoritatis ne hoc quidem iuris obtinuit, ut unius honestissimi atque innocentissimi civis mortem ac sanguinem deprecaretur.

126 XLVIII. Quo confugient socii ? quem implorabunt? qua spe denique ut vivere velint tenebuntur, si vos eos deseretis ? Ad senatumne venient ? Quid ? ut de Verre supplicium sumat ? Non est usitatum, non senatorium. Ad populum Romanum confugient ?

[1] per me MSS. (*except the Vatican* per hunc) : per Verrem *Peterson* (*Nettleship's conjecture*).
[2] *There is fair* MS. *support for adding here* et ex complexu matris ereptus innocens filius.

[a] The people of Tyndaris are apostrophized here.
[b] See Book iv. § 72 for a fuller reference to this tradition.

Mightily indeed have those privileges availed them while they were under the authority of governor Verres !—Once it was Scipio who led your[a] sailors 125
against Carthage : to-day it is Cleomenes who leads against the pirates your all but empty ship. The hero of Africa gave you a share of the spoils of war, a share of the victor's reward of glory : but now you are despoiled by Verres, your ship is carried off by the pirates, and you yourselves are regarded and treated as enemies.—And then there is the famous kinship of blood between Rome and Segesta,[b] not merely recorded in the archives of Segesta or recounted by her orators, but confirmed and made effective by the many services she has rendered to us : what benefit accrued to her from this connexion in the days of Verres' rule ? Why, gentlemen, so highly was she privileged that one of her foremost sons was torn from his country's bosom and delivered over to this man's executioner Sextius.—To her our ancestors granted an extensive and fertile territory, to her they gave immunity from public burdens : and you, Verres, disregarded so completely the claims of her blood-kinship with us, her loyalty to us, her antiquity and her importance, that she pleaded in vain with you to spare the life of that single son of hers, and not to shed the blood of a highly honoured and altogether innocent man.

XLVIII. Where shall our allies seek refuge, whose 126
help shall they entreat, nay, what hope will possess them that can make life seem worth living, if you, gentlemen, fail them ? Shall they approach the Senate ? To what end ? that it may have Verres punished ? That is not customary ; that is not the Senate's function. Shall they appeal to the as-

Facilis est populi causa; legem enim se sociorum causa iussisse et ei vos legi[1] custodes ac vindices praeposuisse dicet. Hic locus igitur est unus quo perfugiant, hic portus, haec arx, haec ara sociorum; quo quidem nunc non ita confugiunt ut antea in suis repetundis rebus solebant. Non argentum, non aurum, non vestem, non mancipia repetunt, non ornamenta quae ex urbibus fanisque erepta sunt; metuunt homines imperiti ne iam haec populus Romanus concedat et ita fieri velit. Patimur enim multos iam annos et silemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre animo aequo et concedere videmur quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat ut ob-
127 scura sua cupiditas esse videatur. In urbe nostra pulcherrima atque ornatissima quod signum, quae tabula picta est quae non ab hostibus victis capta atque deportata sit? at istorum villae sociorum fidelissimorum plurimis et pulcherrimis spoliis ornatae refertaeque sunt. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quae nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Graeciam, Siciliam tam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis? Sed haec,

[1] ei vos legi *is a widely accepted conjecture*: *the* MSS. *vary greatly*: *Peterson* eius legis *with good* MS. *support.*

sembled nation? It will have good reason to say them no; it will tell them that it has passed a certain law for its allies' good, and has appointed you to take charge of that law and to see that it is not broken. Here, therefore, is the one place to which they may turn for refuge; here is our allies' harbour, here their citadel, and here their sanctuary. And the refuge they now seek here is not such as they have been wont to seek when they sued for the restitution of their stolen property. They do not now claim back their gold, their silver, their tapestries, their slaves, no, nor the works of art of which their cities and shrines have been robbed. The poor ignorant folk are afraid that the Roman nation has come to permit such doings, and is content to see them occur. Year after year, indeed, we have allowed them to occur; we have seen all the wealth of all the world become the property of a mere handful of men; and our readiness to tolerate and permit this is the more apparent because none of those persons conceals his cupidity, none is concerned to throw any doubt upon
the fact of it. Among all the treasures that so richly 127
adorn this beautiful city of ours, is there one statue, one picture, that has not been captured and brought hither from the enemies we have defeated in war? whereas the country-houses of the men to whom I refer are furnished to overflowing with the countless beautiful things of which they have robbed our most loyal allies. What do you suppose has become of the wealth of the foreign nations who are now so poor, when you see Athens, Pergamum, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos—nay, all Asia and Achaea, all Greece and Sicily, concentrated in these few country-houses? Yet I repeat, gentlemen, that to-day your allies are

ut dico, omnia iam socii vestri relinquunt et neglegunt, iudices. Ne publice a populo Romano spoliarentur officiis ac fide providerunt; paucorum cupiditati tum, cum obsistere non poterant, tamen sufficere aliquo modo poterant; nunc vero iam adempta est non modo resistendi verum etiam suppeditandi facultas. Itaque res suas neglegunt; pecunias, quo nomine iudicium hoc appellatur, non repetunt, relinquunt;
128 hoc iam ornatu ad vos confugiunt. Aspicite, aspicite, iudices, squalorem sordesque sociorum!

XLIX. Sthenius hic Thermitanus cum hoc capillo atque veste, domu sua tota expilata, mentionem tuorum furtorum non facit; sese ipsum abs te repetit, nihil amplius; totum enim tua libidine et scelere ex sua patria, in qua multis virtutibus ac beneficiis princeps fuit, sustulisti. Dexo hic, quem videtis, non quae publice Tyndaride, non quae privatim sibi eripuisti, sed unicum miser abs te filium optimum atque innocentissimum flagitat; non ex litibus aestimatis tuis pecuniam domum, sed ex tua calamitate cineri atque ossibus filii sui solacium vult aliquod reportare. Hic tam grandis natu Eubulida hoc tantum exacta

[a] In the garb of bereaved mourners.

not attempting, and not caring, to recover any of these treasures. By their loyalty and good service they guarded themselves against being deprived of them by public decree of the Roman nation. The time came when they could not resist the greed of this man or that, but in one way or another they were able to gratify it. To-day they have lost the power not only of resisting but even of supplying the demands made of them. And therefore they are not concerned for their property; they forbear to claim that restitution of moneys which this Court, as its name shows, was instituted to secure. They come, with their appeal to you, dressed as you see them
dressed.[a] Look, gentlemen, look on the unkempt 128
and dishevelled condition of these loyal friends of ours!

XLIX. Sthenius of Thermae stands before you. You see his neglected hair, his garb of mourning.—But though you have ransacked every corner of his house, Verres, he makes no mention of your robberies. It is himself he bids you restore—no more than that—you whose wanton wickedness has thrust him forth bodily from the land of his birth, where his many virtues and beneficent deeds had gained him such pre-eminence.—Here, gentlemen, you see Dexo of Tyndaris—and what, Verres, does Dexo demand from you? Not the treasures of which you have robbed his town, not those of which you have robbed himself. It is his only son whom this unhappy man demands, his noble and wholly innocent son: he seeks not to carry home money from the sum your judges sentence you to pay, but to carry to his dead son's bones and ashes such poor consolation as your ruin shall afford. Here is the aged Eubulidas: in spite of his years, he

aetate laboris itinerisque suscepit, non ut aliquid de suis bonis recuperaret, sed ut, quibus oculis cruentas cervices filii sui viderat, isdem te condemnatum vi-
129 deret. Si per L. Metellum licitum esset, iudices, matres illorum miserorum sororesque veniebant; quarum una, cum ego ad Heracleam noctu accederem, cum omnibus matronis eius civitatis et cum multis facibus mihi obviam venit, et ita me suam salutem appellans, te suum carnificem nominans, filii nomen implorans, mihi ad pedes misera iacuit, quasi ego eius excitare ab inferis filium possem. Faciebant hoc itidem ceteris in civitatibus grandes natu matres et item parvi liberi miserorum; quorum utrumque aetas laborem et industriam meam, fidem et misericordiam
130 vestram requirebat. Itaque ad me, iudices, hanc querimoniam praeter ceteras Sicilia detulit; lacrimis ego huc, non gloria inductus accessi, ne falsa damnatio, ne carcer, ne catenae, ne verbera, ne secures, ne cruciatus sociorum, ne sanguis innocentium, ne denique etiam exsanguia[1] corpora mortuorum, ne maeror parentum ac propinquorum magistratibus nostris quaestui posset esse. Hunc ego si metum Siciliae damnatione istius per vestram fidem et veritatem deiecero, iudices, satis officio meo, satis illorum voluntati qui a me hoc petiverunt, factum esse arbitrabor.

[1] exsanguia *Peterson* (exangula *the Vatican MS.*): exsanguium *Mueller, with the other MSS.*

undertook the weary journey to Rome, not in the hope of recovering some fraction of his property, but that his eyes, having once beheld the blood gushing from his son's neck, might now behold you in the hour of your conviction.—And the mothers, gentlemen, 129
and the sisters of those hapless men were eager to come too, if only Lucius Metellus had let them come. One of them came to meet me, as I was approaching Heraclea one evening; with her were all the married women of the city, many of them bearing torches in their hands. Addressing me as her own saviour, calling Verres her own executioner, with pitiful appeals to the memory of her son, the poor creature prostrated herself before me as if it were in my power to raise her son from the dead. In the other towns the aged mothers, yes, and the little children of these poor lads, behaved in the same fashion, age and youth alike establishing their claims on my zeal and industry, on your honour and compassion. And so it is, 130
gentlemen, that Sicily has bidden me tell this tale of wrong as well as the others, a tale for whose telling pity, and not ambition, has been the motive. It is my purpose that the condemnation of the guiltless, that chains and prison, that the scourge and the axe, that the agony of our allies and the blood of their innocent sons, that, worst of all, the bloodless corpses of the dead and the grief of their parents and their kinsfolk, shall not be allowed to be the means of enriching Roman magistrates. If, gentlemen, your honour and integrity shall enable me, by the condemnation of this scoundrel, to rid Sicily of her fear that such things may happen, I shall feel that my own conscience, and the wishes of those who begged me to do what I am doing, are fully satisfied.—

131 L. Quapropter si quem forte inveneris qui hoc navale crimen conetur defendere, is ita defendat ut[1] illa communia quae ad causam nihil pertinent praetermittat: me culpae fortunam assignare, calamitatem crimini dare; me amissionem classis obicere, cum multi viri fortes in communi incertoque periculo belli et terra et mari saepe offenderint. Nullam tibi obicio fortunam; nihil est quod ceterorum res minus commode gestas proferas; nihil est quod multorum naufragia fortunae colligas. Ego navis inanes fuisse dico, remiges nautasque dimissos, reliquos stirpibus vixisse palmarum; praefuisse classi populi Romani Siculum, perpetuo sociis atque amicis Syracusanum; te illo tempore ipso superioribusque diebus omnibus in litore cum mulierculis perpotasse dico; harum
132 rerum omnium auctores testesque produco. Num tibi insultare in calamitate, num intercludere perfugia fortunae, num casus bellicos exprobrare aut obicere videor? Tametsi solent ii fortunam sibi obici nolle qui se fortunae commiserunt, qui in eius periculis sunt ac varietate versati. Istius quidem calamitatis tuae fortuna particeps non fuit. Homines enim in proeliis, non in conviviis, belli fortunam periclitari solent; in illa autem calamitate non Martem fuisse communem,

[1] ut (*not in the MSS.*) *is a conjecture adopted by Peterson but not by most editors.*

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[a] On this point see §§ 83-85 and § 124.

L. And therefore, Verres, if you do find someone 131
to attempt your defence in this matter of the fleet, let him attempt it without bringing forward those well-worn arguments that are here irrelevant. Let him not say that I am calling misfortune misconduct, and ill-success a criminal act; that I am attacking you for losing your fleet, although many a gallant leader, exposed like all of us to the risks and uncertainties of war, has many a time come to grief. It is no ill-fortune that I allege against you. It is useless for you to mention the unsuccessful performances of other men, and to collect the many cases of shipwreck on the rocks of evil luck. My charge is this: that your ships were not manned, that rowers and sailors had been exempted from duty, that the remainder had no food but palm roots; that a Roman fleet was commanded by a Sicilian, and men who had always been our allies and friends by a Syracusan;[a] that you, at that very time, and for days together before that time, had been fuddling yourself with drink on the sea-shore in the company of worthless women. That is my charge; and I produce witnesses to confirm every word of it. And now does it seem that I 132
am trampling upon you when you are down? debarring you from the plea to which your ill-fortune entitles you? attacking and abusing you for what is due to the chances of warfare? For that matter, the accusation of being unfortunate is not welcome, as a rule, to those who have given themselves into fortune's hands, who have had experience of her inconstancy and its attendant perils. But in this disaster of yours fortune has plàyed no part. Men make trial of the fortunes of war on the battle-field, and not at the dinner-table: it is not the god of war, but the

sed Venerem possumus dicere. Quodsi fortunam tibi obici non oportet, cur tu fortunae illorum innocentium veniam ac locum non dedisti?

133 Etiam illud praecidas licet, te, quod supplicium more maiorum sumpseris securique percusseris, idcirco a me in crimen et invidiam vocari. Non in supplicio crimen meum vertitur; non ego securi nego[1] quemquam feriri debere, non ego metum ex re militari, non severitatem imperii, non poenam flagitii tolli dico oportere; fateor non modo in socios sed etiam in cives militesque nostros persaepe esse severe ac vehementer vindicatum. LI. Quare haec quoque praetermittas licet: ego culpam non in nauarchis sed in te fuisse demonstro, te pretio remiges militesque dimisisse arguo. Hoc nauarchi reliqui dicunt, hoc Netinorum foederata civitas publice dicit, hoc Amestratini, hoc Herbitenses, hoc Hennenses, Agyrinenses, Tyndaritani publice dicunt, tuus denique testis, tuus imperator, tuus aemulus, tuus hospes Cleomenes hoc dicit, sese in terram esse egressum ut Pachyno e terrestri praesidio milites colligeret quos in navibus collocaret; quod certe non fecisset si suum numerum naves haberent; ea est enim ratio instructarum ornatarumque navium ut non modo plures sed ne singuli
134 quidem possint accedere. Dico praeterea illos ipsos reliquos nautas fame atque inopia rerum omnium

[1] ego nego securi *Peterson with the Vatican palimpsest.*

[a] The *Venus communis* may carry a further reference to the "sharing" of Syracusan wives with Verres by their husbands.

goddess of love, to whom we may assign a share[a] in your disaster. And then, if it is improper to blame you for being unfortunate, why did the ill-fortune of those innocent men meet with no forgiveness and no consideration at your hands?

Nor had you better argue at any length that I am 133
charging you with using the axe as your instrument of execution, and am seeking to excite prejudice against you for doing what our ancestors have always done. Your methods of execution form no part of my charge. I do not assert that no man should ever be beheaded, nor urge that fear and strict discipline and punishment for misbehaviour should no longer be part of our military system. I admit that our allies, nay, that our own citizens and soldiers, have been punished again and again with sternness and vigour. LI. You will do well, therefore, to let this plea also alone. What I am proving is that you, and not the captains, were to blame. I am charging you with having taken payment for exempting their rowers and sailors from duty. This is stated by all the other captains; it is officially stated by our privileged ally Netum; it is officially stated by Amestratus and Herbita, by Henna and Agyrrhium and Tyndaris; and finally it is stated by your own witness, your own admiral, your rival in his wife's favours, your host—by Cleomenes, who says that he went ashore to get troops from the land garrison at Pachynus to man his ships with, a thing he would assuredly not have done if the crews had been at their proper strength, for a properly manned and equipped warship has no room for a single additional
man, let alone for a considerable number. I affirm, 134
moreover, that the health and strength of such mem-

confectos fuisse ac perditos ; dico aut omnes extra culpam fuisse aut, si uni attribuenda culpa sit, in eo maximam fuisse qui optimam navem, plurimos nautas haberet, summum imperium obtineret, aut, si omnes in culpa fuerint, non oportuisse Cleomenen constitui spectatorem illorum mortis atque cruciatus ; dico etiam in ipso supplicio mercedem lacrimarum, mercedem vulneris atque plagae, mercedem funeris ac
135 sepulturae constitui nefas fuisse. Quapropter, si mihi respondere voles, haec dicito, classem instructam atque ornatam fuisse, nullum propugnatorem afuisse, nullum vacuum tractum esse remum, rem frumentariam esse suppeditatam ; mentiri nauarchos, mentiri tot tam graves civitates, mentiri etiam Siciliam totam ; proditum esse te a Cleomene, qui se dixerit exisse in terram ut Pachyno deduceret milites ; animum illis, non copias defuisse ; Cleomenem acerrime pugnantem ab iis relictum esse atque desertum ; nummum ob sepulturam datum nemini. Quae si dices, tenebere ; sin alia dices, ea quae a me dicta sunt non refutabis.

136 LII. Hic tu etiam dicere audebis " Est in iudicibus ille familiaris meus, est paternus amicus ille " ? Non, ut quisque maxime est quicum tibi aliquid sit, ita te

[a] Not astern, but hanging from the rowlock pegs, probably.

bers of the crews as still remained on duty were undermined by lack of food and all other necessaries. I affirm that none of them were to blame ; or, if blame must be held to attach to one of them, that it should have been assigned chiefly to the man who had the most efficient and well-manned ship and was in command of the whole fleet ; or else, if they were all to blame, that Cleomenes should not have been put among the spectators while the rest were put to a cruel death. And I also affirm that in actually executing them it was a monstrous thing to charge fees to their weeping friends, fees for the blows that mangled them, fees for the right to be buried in a grave. If, therefore, you choose to answer my 135
charges, what you must say is this : that the fleet was fully manned and equipped, none of the marines away from duty, none of the oars towed along [a] for lack of oarsmen, plenty of corn on board ; that the statements of the captains, the statements of all those responsible cities, nay, the statements of all Sicily, are falsehoods ; that Cleomenes, when he told us how he went ashore at Pachynus to take soldiers aboard from there, was guilty of a treacherous lie ; that what the captains needed was not more men, but more courage, and that they abandoned and deserted Cleomenes while he was fighting the enemy bravely ; that nobody was paid a penny for the burial of the dead. And if you do say this, you will be proved a liar ; whereas if you say anything else my charges against you will be unanswerable.

LII. Will you now still dare to say " So-and-so 136
among my judges is my personal friend, and so-and-so is a friend of my father's " ? The more closely a man is connected with you, the more ashamed you

in huiusce modi crimine maxime eius pudet? Paternus amicus est? Ipse pater si iudicaret, per deos immortales, quid facere posset? Cum tibi haec diceret: "Tu in provincia populi Romani praetor, cum tibi maritimum bellum esset administrandum, Mamertinis ex foedere quam deberent navem per triennium remisisti, tibi apud eosdem privata navis oneraria maxima publice est aedificata, tu a civitatibus pecunias classis nomine coegisti, tu pretio remiges dimisisti, tu, navis cum esset ab quaestore et ab legato capta praedonum, archipiratam ab oculis omnium removisti, tu, qui cives Romani esse dicerentur, qui a multis cognoscerentur, securi ferire potuisti, tu tuam domum piratas abducere, tu in iudicium archipiratam domo
137 producere ausus es, tu in provincia tam splendida, tu apud socios fidelissimos, cives Romanos honestissimos, in metu periculoque provinciae dies continuos complures in litore conviviisque iacuisti, te per eos dies nemo tuae domi convenire, nemo in foro videre potuit, tu sociorum atque amicorum ad ea convivia matres familias adhibuisti, tu inter eius modi mulieres praetextatum tuum filium, nepotem meum, collocavisti, ut aetati maxime lubricae atque incertae exempla nequitiae parentis vita praeberet, tu praetor in provincia cum tunica pallioque purpureo visus es, tu

should be to face him when such charges as these are brought against you. A friend of your father's? If your father himself were among your judges, what, in God's name, could he do? Must he not address you thus? "You are the man who, being the governor of a Roman province and responsible for the conduct of warlike operations at sea, for three years exempted the Messanians from supplying the warship which they were bound by treaty to supply. It is you for whose private use these Messanians built a great merchant-vessel at the public expense. It is you who extorted money, as a naval tax, from the towns of Sicily, and who exempted from service those rowers who paid you to do so. You, upon the capture of a pirate ship by your quaestor and your assistant governor, hid the pirate captain where nobody could find him. You had the hardihood to execute men who were stated to be Roman citizens and recognized widely as being so. You dared to carry off pirates to your own house, and to produce from your house a pirate captain to appear at your trial. You, here in 137
this illustrious province, among our loyal allies and honoured countrymen, amid the dangers by which the province was menaced spent day after day idly carousing on the coast. You, all that time, were never to be found at home, never to be seen in the forum. Your guests at those carousals were married women, the wives of our Sicilian allies and friends. You introduced to the society of such women as that your young son—my grandson—so that, at the most unstable and dangerous period of his life, his own father's conduct might set him an example of vicious living. You, while a governor in command of your province, showed yourself wearing a Greek tunic and

propter amorem libidinemque tuam imperium navium legato populi Romani ademisti, Syracusano tradidisti, tui milites in provincia Sicilia frugibus frumentoque caruerunt, tua luxurie atque avaritia classis populi
138 Romani a praedonibus capta et incensa est; post Syracusas conditas quem in portum numquam hostis accesserat, in eo te praetore primum piratae navigaverunt; neque haec tot et tanta dedecora dissimulatione tua neque oblivione hominum ac taciturnitate tegere voluisti, sed etiam navium praefectos sine ulla causa de complexu parentum suorum, hospitum tuorum, ad mortem cruciatumque rapuisti, neque te in parentum luctu atque lacrimis mei nominis commemoratio mitigavit; tibi hominum innocentium sanguis non modo voluptati sed etiam quaestui fuit!" —LIII. haec si tibi tuus parens diceret, posses ab eo veniam petere, posses ut tibi ignosceret postulare?

139 Satis est factum Siculis, satis officio ac necessitudini, satis promisso nostro ac recepto. Reliqua est ea causa, iudices, quae iam non recepta sed innata, neque delata ad me sed in animo sensuque meo penitus adfixa atque insita est; quae non ad sociorum salutem, sed ad civium Romanorum, hoc est ad unius cuiusque nostrum, vitam et sanguinem pertinet. In

purple cloak. You, to gratify your licentious passion, took away the command of the fleet from the Roman assistant-governor and handed it over to a Syracusan. Your troops, in the grain-growing province of Sicily, went short of corn. Because of your luxury and greed, a Roman fleet was captured and burnt by the pirates. It was under your rule that pirates first 138
sailed about in the harbour of Syracuse, the harbour into which no enemy in war had ever penetrated in all the city's history. You did not seek to cover up these shameful occurrences by pretending ignorance, by preventing their being spoken of or remembered. Far from that, you wrenched the innocent captains of your ships from the embrace of their parents, of the men whose guest you had been, and hurried them to torture and death. No appeal made to you by those unhappy weeping parents to remember me, your father, softened your cruel heart. To you the blood of those guiltless persons brought not only pleasure, but profit also." LIII. If it were your own father that were addressing you thus, could you possibly entreat his mercy, or call upon him to forgive you?

I have now done enough for the people of Sicily, 139
enough to meet the claims of my friendship for them, and to carry out the promise I made them. What still remains of my case, gentlemen, is something not taken upon me but born in me; something not brought to me from without, but indissolubly entwined with the inmost roots and fibres of my being. It is no longer a question of the preservation of our allies: it is a question of the life and existence of Roman citizens, or in other words, of each and every one of ourselves. Gentlemen, do not look for me to

qua nolite a me, quasi dubium sit aliquid, argumenta, iudices, exspectare ; omnia quae dicam sic erunt illustria ut ad ea probanda totam Siciliam testem adhibere possem. Furor enim quidam, sceleris et audaciae comes, istius effrenatum animum importunamque naturam tanta oppressit amentia ut numquam dubitaret in conventu palam supplicia, quae in convictos maleficii servos constituta sunt, ea in cives Romanos
140 expromere. Virgis quam multos ceciderit quid ego commemorem ? Tantum brevissime, iudices, dico : Nullum fuit omnino civitatis isto praetore in hoc genere discrimen. Itaque iam consuetudine ad corpora civium Romanorum etiam sine istius nutu ferebatur manus ipsa lictoris.

LIV. Num potes hoc negare, Verres, in foro Lilybaei maximo conventu C. Servilium, civem Romanum e conventu Panhormitano, veterem negotiatorem, ad tribunal ante pedes tuos ad terram virgis et verberibus abiectum ? Aude hoc primum negare, si potes ; nemo Lilybaei fuit quin viderit, nemo in Sicilia quin audierit. Plagis confectum dico a lictoribus tuis civem
141 Romanum ante oculos tuos concidisse. At quam ob causam, di immortales ! Tametsi iniuriam facio communi causae et iuri civitatis ; quasi enim ulla possit esse causa cur hoc cuiquam civi Romano iure accidat, ita quaero quae in Servilio causa fuerit. Ignoscite

prove my statements in this matter, as though some part of them were open to doubt : all the facts I shall give you will be so notorious that I might have been making all Sicily a witness to their truth. The madness that accompanies unscrupulous wickedness plunged this man's unbridled passions and savage heart into such a depth of insanity that he never hesitated, in the open sight of our countrymen, to produce the punishments devised for convicted slaves
and inflict them on citizens of Rome. Need I remind 140
you how many he had flogged ? Gentlemen, the simple fact is this : when Verres was governor of Sicily, no distinction whatsoever was made, in this respect, between Roman citizens and other people. And the result of this practice was that before long his lictors were in the habit of actually laying hands upon the persons of Roman citizens without so much as waiting for his orders.—

LIV. Can you deny this, Verres—that in the market-place of Lilybaeum, where there is a large Roman community, an elderly business man named Gaius Servilius, a Roman citizen belonging to the Panhormus community, was beaten with rods before your judgement-seat till he fell to the ground at your feet ? Deny this first charge if you can : all Lilybaeum saw it, and all Sicily heard of it. My charge is that a Roman citizen was beaten by your lictors till he
collapsed fainting before your eyes. And, God help 141
us, for what a reason !—Though indeed it is to the detriment of our common interest, and of our status as citizens, that I ask what the reason was in the case of Servilius, as if there were any possible reason that could justify such a thing's befalling any Roman citizen whatsoever. Forgive me, gentlemen, in this

in hoc uno, iudices ; in ceteris enim non magnopere causas requiram. Locutus erat liberius de istius improbitate atque nequitia. Quod isti simulac renuntiatum est, hominem iubet Lilybaeum vadimonium Venerio servo promittere. Promittit ; Lilybaeum venitur. Cogere eum coepit, cum ageret nemo, nemo postularet, sponsionem mille nummum facere cum lictore suo, NI FURTIS QUAESTUM FACERET. Recuperatores se de cohorte sua dicebat daturum. Servilius et recusare et deprecari ne iniquis iudicibus nullo ad-
142 versario iudicium capitis in se constitueretur. Haec cum maxime loqueretur, sex lictores circumsistunt valentissimi et ad pulsandos verberandosque homines exercitatissimi, caedunt acerrime virgis ; denique proximus lictor, de quo iam saepe dixi, Sextius, converso bacillo oculos misero tundere vehementissime coepit. Itaque ille, cum sanguis os oculosque complesset, concidit, cum illi nihilo minus iacenti latera tunderent, ut aliquando spondere se diceret. Sic ille affectus illim tum pro mortuo sublatus perbrevi postea est mortuus. Iste autem homo Venerius, adfluens omni lepore ac venustate, de bonis illius in aede Veneris argenteum Cupidinem posuit. Sic etiam fortunis hominum abutebatur ad nocturna vota cupiditatum suarum.

143 LV. Nam quid ego de ceteris civium Romanorum

[a] Slaves were incapable of bringing or defending actions in court : the man was perhaps a freedman.

[b] The subject of *faceret* is taken by some (Mommsen, Long) to be Servilius : this raises more difficulties than it solves.

[c] If the *sponsio* went against him, he could hardly avoid conviction (for *maiestas* perhaps) as having slandered the praetor.

[d] That is, the temple slave had not appeared to prosecute.

one instance : in the others I shall not spend long in asking what the reasons were. Servilius had talked rather freely about Verres' rascality and wickedness. This was reported to Verres, who immediately served the man with a summons bidding him appear at Lilybaeum to answer a charge brought against him by a temple slave.[a] He obeyed, and appeared there ; but no one came forward to prosecute. Verres thereupon set about compelling him to accept a challenge from one of his lictors, involving the sum of £10, to prove that Verres[b] was making money by robbery, saying that he would appoint a court to try the case from among his own staff. Servilius protested earnestly against being tried for a capital offence,[c] before a prejudiced court, when no one had appeared to prosecute him.[d] In the midst of his appeal he was 142
surrounded by six lictors, muscular fellows who had had plenty of practice in assaulting and flogging people, and who now proceeded to beat him savagely with rods ; till finally the senior lictor Sextius, a man whom I have already often mentioned, took the butt end of his stick, and began to strike the poor man violently across the eyes, so that he fell helpless to the ground, his face and eyes streaming with blood. Even then his assailants continued to rain blows on his prostrate body, till at last he consented to accept the challenge. Such was the treatment he then received ; and having been carried off for dead at the time, very soon afterwards he died. And yonder devotee of Venus, from whom radiates every imaginable grace and seductive charm, spent his victim's money on a silver Cupid, which he dedicated in the temple of Venus : thus foully misusing even the property of others to secure the gratification of his nocturnal lusts.

LV. Of the tortures inflicted on other Roman 143

suppliciis singillatim potius quam generatim atque universe loquar? Carcer ille qui est a crudelissimo tyranno Dionysio factus Syracusis, quae lautumiae vocantur, in istius imperio domicilium civium Romanorum fuit. Ut quisque istius animum aut oculos offenderat, in lautumias statim coniciebatur. Indignum hoc video videri omnibus, iudices, et id iam priore actione, cum haec testes dicerent, intellexi. Retineri enim putatis oportere iura libertatis non modo hic, ubi tribuni plebis sunt, ubi ceteri magistratus, ubi forum plenum iudiciorum, ubi senatus auctoritas, ubi existimatio populi Romani et frequentia, sed ubicumque terrarum et gentium violatum ius civium Romanorum sit, statuitis id pertinere ad
144 communem causam libertatis et dignitatis. In externorum hominum maleficorum sceleratorumque, in praedonum hostiumque custodias tu tantum numerum civium Romanorum includere ausus es? Numquamne tibi iudicii, numquam contionis, numquam huius tantae frequentiae quae nunc te animo iniquissimo infestissimoque intuetur, venit in mentem? numquam tibi populi Romani absentis dignitas, numquam species ipsa huiusce multitudinis in oculis animoque versata est? numquam te in horum conspectum rediturum, numquam in forum populi Romani venturum, num-

citizens I might well speak in general and comprehensive terms, instead of taking them one by one. While Verres was governor, the prison constructed at Syracuse by the cruel tyrant Dionysius, and known as the Stone Quarries, was the permanent home of Roman citizens. Let the thought or the sight of any one of them annoy him, and the man was flung into the Quarries forthwith. I perceive, gentlemen, the indignation which this arouses in you all; and I observed the same thing, in the first part of the trial, when the facts were being stated by witnesses. You hold, of course, that it is not only here in Rome that we should be sure of enjoying the freedom that is our right: not only where we have the tribunes of the people, the other officers of state, the courts of law that crowd our Forum, the authority of our Senate, the public opinion of the assembled people of Rome. No: the infringement of a Roman citizen's rights, in whatsoever land, and among whatsoever people, is a thing which in your judgement affects the freedom
and dignity of all Roman citizens alike.—In that place 144
where foreign criminals and scoundrels, where pirates and public enemies are confined, how could you dare, Verres, to imprison that multitude of Roman citizens? Did no thought of your trial ever enter your mind? no thought of your assembled countrymen? no thought of the great company now met together, now contemplating you with angry and hostile eyes? Even at that distance, did the greatness of the Roman people, did the actual picture of this crowded gathering never present itself to your eyes or your imagination? Did you suppose that you would never return to the place where they could see you, never re-enter the forum of the Roman nation, never

quam sub legum et iudiciorum potestatem casurum esse duxisti?

145 LVI. At quae erat ista libido crudelitatis exercendae, quae tot scelerum suscipiendorum causa? Nulla, iudices, praeter praedandi novam singularemque rationem. Nam ut illi quos a poetis accepimus, qui sinus quosdam obsedisse maritimos aut aliqua promunturia aut praerupta saxa tenuisse dicuntur, ut eos qui essent appulsi navigiis interficere possent, sic iste in omnia maria infestus ex omnibus Siciliae partibus imminebat. Quaecumque navis ex Asia, quae ex Syria, quae Tyro, quae Alexandria venerat, statim certis indicibus et custodibus tenebatur; vectores omnes in lautumias coniciebantur, onera atque merces in praetoriam domum deferebantur. Versabatur in Sicilia longo intervallo alter non Dionysius ille nec Phalaris—tulit enim illa quondam insula multos et crudeles tyrannos—sed quoddam novum monstrum ex vetere illa immanitate quae in isdem locis versata esse
146 dicitur. Non enim Charybdim tam infestam neque Scyllam nautis quam istum in eodem freto fuisse arbitror: hoc etiam iste infestior, quod multo se pluribus et immanioribus canibus succinxerat: Cyclops alter multo importunior, hic enim totam insulam obsidebat, ille Aetnam solam et eam Siciliae partem tenuisse dicitur.

At quae causa tum subiciebatur ab ipso, iudices, huius tam nefariae crudelitatis? Eadem quae nunc in defensione commemorabitur. Quicumque accesserant ad Siciliam paulo pleniores, eos Sertorianos

[a] *i.e.*, than Scylla's. For Verres' "hounds" see Book i. §§ 126 and 133.

become subject to the authority of our laws and our courts of law?—

LVI. Now what gave rise to this display of wanton 145
cruelty, and caused the man to load himself with so heavy a burden of crimes? Gentlemen, it was simply a special new device for securing plunder. The poets tell us of men who infested inlets of the sea, or occupied precipitous cliffs or headlands, so as to be able to kill seafarers who were wrecked there: Verres, with a like purpose, threatened every part of the sea from every point in Sicily. Every ship that arrived from Asia or Syria, from Tyre or Alexandria, was promptly seized by his special band of spies and watchmen: the voyagers were all flung into the Stone Quarries, the cargoes and merchandise were carried off to the governor's residence. After long years Sicily was once more the prey—no, I will not say of a Dionysius, of a Phalaris, of one of the many cruel tyrants the island once produced, but rather of a new and monstrous creature, as savage as those that are said to have haunted those regions in ancient days.
Indeed, I conceive that neither Charybdis nor Scylla 146
was as dangerous as he was to the mariners navigating those straits; he was more dangerous, because he had girt himself about with more numerous and savage hounds.[a] He was a second Cyclops, but far more frightful, for he infested the whole island, while the Cyclops only occupied Aetna and the adjoining regions.

And what reason for this abominable cruelty was put forward by Verres at the time? The same, gentlemen, as that which will be brought up by his advocates now. All persons who landed in Sicily with any considerable store of goods he denounced

milites esse atque a Dianio fugere dicebat. Illi ad deprecandum periculum proferebant alii purpuram Tyriam, tus alii atque odores vestemque linteam, gemmas alii et margaritas, vina non nulli Graeca venalesque Asiaticos, ut intellegeretur ex mercibus quibus ex locis navigarent. Non providerant eas ipsas sibi causas esse periculi quibus argumentis se ad salutem uti arbitrabantur. Iste enim haec eos ex piratarum societate adeptos esse dicebat; ipsos in lautumias abduci imperabat, naves eorum atque
147 onera diligenter asservanda curabat. LVII. His institutis cum completus iam mercatorum carcer esset, tum illa fiebant quae L. Suettium, equitem Romanum, lectissimum virum, dicere audistis, et quae ceteros audietis. Cervices in carcere frangebantur indignissime civium Romanorum, ut iam illa vox et imploratio "Civis Romanus sum," quae saepe multis in ultimis terris opem inter barbaros et salutem tulit, ea mortem illis acerbiorem et supplicium maturius ferret.

Quid est, Verres? quid ad haec cogitas respondere? num mentiri me, num fingere aliquid, num augere crimen? num quid horum dicere istis defensoribus tuis audes? Cedo mihi, quaeso, ex ipsius sinu litteras Syracusanorum quas iste ad arbitrium suum confectas esse arbitratur, cedo rationem carceris, quae diligentissime conficitur, quo quisque die datus in

[a] See note on Book i. § 87. *Fugere*, because Sertorius was now defeated.

as belonging to the army of Sertorius and being fugitives from Dianium.[a] They sought to escape his anger by exhibiting their wares—Tyrian purple, incense and perfumes and linen fabrics, jewels and pearls, Greek wines, Asiatic slaves—so as to prove by the nature of their cargoes from what part of the world they had come. They did not foresee that the things they hoped would prove their innocence and save them were just the things that would lead to their ruin. Verres declared that they had acquired these goods by having dealings with the pirates, ordered them to be marched off to the Stone Quarries, and took their ships and cargoes into careful custody.
LVII. These methods presently crowded the prison 147
with honest traders; and then those things began to happen of which you have heard from Lucius Suettius, a Roman knight and most excellent man, and of which you shall hear from the others likewise. There, in that prison, guiltless Roman citizens were most shamefully strangled. Now at last the cry "I am a Roman citizen," the famous appeal that has so often brought men help and rescue among savage races in the furthest corners of the earth, was to hasten the infliction and increase the agony of these men's death.—

Well, Verres? what answer to this charge are you contemplating? not, I presume, that I am lying, or inventing, or exaggerating? you will hardly venture to make any such suggestion as those to your advocates here?—Let us have, if you please, out of his own special treasures a Syracusan document that he thinks of as composed according to his own wishes; let us have the prison record, which is carefully kept so as to show the dates on which prisoners are

custodiam, quo mortuus, quo necatus sit. LITTERAE
148 SYRACUSANORUM. Videtis cives Romanos gregatim coniectos in lautumias, videtis indignissimo in loco coacervatam multitudinem vestrorum civium. Quaerite nunc vestigia quibus exitus eorum ex illo loco compareant. Nulla sunt. Omnesne mortui? Si ita posset defendere, tamen fides huic defensioni non haberetur. Sed scriptum exstat in isdem litteris, quod iste homo barbarus ac dissolutus neque attendere umquam neque intellegere potuit: ἐδικαιώθησαν, inquit, hoc est, ut Siculi loquuntur, supplicio affecti ac necati sunt.

149 LVIII. Si qui rex, si qua civitas exterarum gentium, si qua natio fecisset aliquid in cives Romanos eius modi, nonne publice vindicaremus, nonne bello persequeremur? possemus hanc iniuriam ignominiamque nominis Romani inultam impunitamque dimittere? Quot bella maiores nostros et quanta suscepisse arbitramini, quod cives Romani iniuria affecti, quod navicularii retenti, quod mercatores spoliati dicerentur? At ego iam retentos non queror, spoliatos ferendum puto: navibus, mancipiis, mercibus ademptis in vincla mercatores esse coniectos et in
150 vinclis cives Romanos necatos esse arguo. Si haec apud Scythas dicerem, non hic in tanta multitudine civium Romanorum, non apud senatores, lectissimos civitatis, non in foro populi Romani de tot et tam acerbis suppliciis civium Romanorum, tamen animos

received, and on which they die—or are put to death.
The record is read.—You see, gentlemen, how citizens 148
of Rome were herded into the Stone Quarries, how all these honest countrymen of yours were flung one on top of another in this place of dishonour. Look now for some sort of evidence that they departed from that place. There is none! Did all those men die there? Even were it a valid defence to say so, we should not believe him when he said so. But there in this same document we find written what he was too careless to notice and too ill-educated to understand, namely, the word *edikaiōthēsan,* the Sicilian equivalent of "the death penalty was inflicted upon them."

LVIII. If it were some king, or foreign community, 149
or savage tribe, that had behaved thus to Roman citizens, should we not as a nation be taking steps to punish the offenders, and sending our armies against them? could we be suffering such an insult, such a blot on the honour of Rome, without exacting vengeance and retribution? In how many great wars, think you, did our ancestors engage, because Rome's citizens were alleged to have been insulted, her seamen arrested, her merchants robbed? Yet I am not now complaining that these men were arrested, nor feeling it intolerable that they were robbed; my charge is that, after being deprived of ships and slaves and merchandise, honest merchants were flung into prison, and in that prison, being Roman citizens,
were put to death. If I were addressing an audience 150
of Scythians, instead of speaking here in Rome to this vast gathering of Romans, in the hearing of a body of those Senators who are Rome's most distinguished citizens, in the Forum of the Roman nation, about the cruel execution of that multitude of Roman citizens—

etiam barbarorum hominum permoverem; tanta enim huius imperii amplitudo, tanta nominis Romani dignitas est apud omnes nationes, ut ista in nostros homines crudelitas nemini concessa esse videatur. Nunc tibi ego ullam salutem, ullum perfugium putem, cum te implicatum severitate iudicum, circumretitum
151 frequentia populi Romani esse videam? Si mehercule, id quod fieri non posse intellego, ex his te laqueis exueris ac te aliqua via ac ratione explicaris, in illas tibi maiores plagas incidendum est in quibus te ab eodem me superiore ex loco confici et concidi necesse est.

Cui si etiam id quod defendit velim concedere, tamen ipsa illa falsa defensio non minus esse ei perniciosa quam mea vera accusatio debeat. Quid enim defendit? Ex Hispania fugientes se excepisse et supplicio affecisse dicit. Quis tibi id permisit? quo iure fecisti? quis idem fecit? qui tibi id facere licuit?
152 Forum plenum et basilicas istorum hominum videmus, et animo aequo videmus; civilis enim dissensionis et seu amentiae seu fati seu calamitatis non est iste molestus exitus, in quo reliquos saltem cives incolumes licet conservare. Verres, ille vetus proditor consulis,

[a] The threat is of prosecution before the people by Cicero as aedile. It was expressed more plainly and fully in Book i. §§ 13-14.

even so my words would be arousing indignation, even in those barbarian souls; for so glorious is our great empire, so highly is the name of Rome honoured in all the world, that it is felt to be beyond the power of any man to treat our countrymen with cruelty such as this.—And can I now conceive of any escape or any refuge for you, Verres, when I behold you enmeshed, like a wild beast in the hunter's nets, by the strict justice of your judges and the thronging assembly of your countrymen? And this I tell 151
you solemnly: if what I know is impossible should come to pass—if you escape the net that now enfolds you, if you find some means and method of working yourself free—it will only be to fall into a still more formidable snare, entangling you wherein I cannot fail, still your hunter but in a position now more commanding, to dispatch you and do away with you.[a]—

For even if I were ready to grant the truth of the statement on which he bases his defence, that very defence, which is based on a fiction, should be as fatal to him as the charge I bring against him, which is based on facts. What is his defence? He says that he intercepted and executed fugitives from Spain.—And who authorized you to do that? what right had you to do it? what entitled you to do what no one else had done? We see our Forum and our law- 152
courts full of such men as those, and the sight does not make us uneasy. Our civil strife—our insanity, our sad destiny, our evil luck, I know not which to call it—has ended not unhappily, in that we are at least allowed to preserve unharmed such of our countrymen as have survived it. But Verres, who long since, as we remember, betrayed his superior

translator quaesturae, aversor pecuniae publicae, tantum sibi auctoritatis in re publica suscepit ut, quibus hominibus per senatum, per populum Romanum, per omnes magistratus, in foro, in suffragiis, in hac urbe, in re publica versari liceret, iis omnibus mortem acerbam crudelemque proponeret, si fortuna eos ad ali-
153 quam partem Siciliae detulisset. Ad Cn. Pompeium, clarissimum virum et fortissimum, permulti occiso Perperna ex illo Sertoriano numero militum confugerunt. Quem non ille summo cum studio salvum incolumemque servavit? cui civi supplici[1] non illa dextera invicta fidem porrexit et spem salutis ostendit? Itane vero? quibus fuit portus apud eum quem contra arma tulerant, iis apud te, cuius nullum in re publica momentum umquam fuit, mors et cruciatus erat constitutus? LIX. Vide quam commodam defensionem excogitaris! Malo mehercule id quod tu defendis his iudicibus populoque Romano quam id quod ego insimulo probari, malo, inquam, te isti generi hominum quam mercatoribus et naviculariis inimicum atque infestum putari; meum enim crimen avaritiae te nimiae coarguit, tua defensio furoris cuiusdam et immanitatis et inauditae crudelitatis et paene novae proscriptionis.

154 Sed non licet me isto tanto bono, iudices, uti, non

[1] supplicanti *Peterson, with good MS. support.*

[a] Literally "transferred his quaestorship," *i.e.*, the sacred obligations of loyalty to his superior officer that the rank of quaestor involves: see Book i. §§ 34-40.

officer, carried his loyalty[a] across to the other camp, and embezzled the nation's money, arrogated to himself such importance as a director of our national policy that he took men who were not prevented, either by the Senate or by the people or by any of our magistrates, from appearing in the Forum, exercising their votes, living in Rome and sharing in political life, and pronounced the sentence of a painful and cruel death against as many of them as chanced to land anywhere on the coast of Sicily. After Per- 153
perna had been put to death, a great number of men who had been in the Sertorian army threw themselves on the mercy of the famous and gallant Gnaeus Pompeius; and Pompeius did his utmost to secure the safety and well-being of every one of them; to each and all of his countrymen who sued for grace that unconquerable arm was stretched forth to pledge his protection and encourage them to hope for pardon.—Can it be believed that these men found a haven of safety with him against whom they had fought, and were awarded torture and death by such a political nobody as you have always been? LIX. You perceive what a useful line of defence you have worked out for yourself! Upon my word, I would rather have this Court and the Roman nation believe what you allege in your defence than what I assert as your prosecutor; yes, I would have such men as we speak of, rather than traders and seamen, taken to be the victims of your enmity; my arguments convict you of outrageous greed, whereas your own defence convicts you of a monstrous kind of insanity, of a cruelty without precedent, of what is practically a fresh proscription.—

But this strong support that Verres offers me is not 154

licet. Adsunt enim Puteoli toti; frequentissimi venerunt ad hoc iudicium mercatores, homines locupletes atque honesti, qui partim socios suos, partim libertos, partim conlibertos spoliatos in vincla coniectos, partim in vinclis necatos, partim securi percussos esse dicunt. Hic vide quam me sis usurus aequo. Cum ego P. Granium testem produxero, qui suos libertos abs te securi percussos esse dicat, qui abs te navem suam mercesque repetat, refellito, si poteris; meum testem deseram, tibi favebo, te, inquam, adiuvabo; ostendito illos cum Sertorio fuisse, ab Dianio fugientes ad Siciliam esse delatos. Nihil est quod te mallem probare; nullum enim facinus quod maiore supplicio dignum sit reperiri neque proferri potest.
155 Reducam iterum equitem Romanum, L. Flavium, si voles, quoniam priore actione—ut patroni tui dictitant, nova quadam sapientia, ut omnes intellegunt, conscientia tua atque auctoritate meorum testium—testem nullum interrogasti. Interrogetur Flavius, si voles, quinam fuerit L.[1] Herennius, is quem ille argentariam Lepti fecisse dicit; qui cum amplius centum cives Romanos haberet ex conventu Syracusano qui eum non solum cognoscerent sed etiam lacrimantes ac te implorantes defenderent, tamen inspectantibus omnibus Syracusanis securi percussus est. Hunc quoque testem meum refelli et illum Herennium

[1] *Many* MSS. *read* T. Herennius *here and in the next paragraph.*

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[a] By now perhaps the most important trading-centre on the Italian coast.

at my disposal. No, gentlemen; and why? Because the people of Puteoli[a] are here in a body; their wealthy and respected merchants have come in great numbers to attend this trial, and these men tell us that their partners, their freedmen or fellow-freedmen were plundered and flung into prison, and some of them put to death in prison, and some of them beheaded.—And now mark, Verres, the fair treatment you will receive from me. When I call for the evidence of Publius Granius, that he may tell us how his own freedmen were beheaded by you, and claim his ship and cargo from you, you shall prove him a liar if you can, and I will desert my own witness, take your side, yes, support you strongly. You shall prove that his men had been with Sertorius, and had landed in Sicily in the course of their flight from Dianium. There is nothing that I would rather you could make your judges believe; for your crime would deserve severer punishment than any other that could be detected and put before them. I will, if you wish it, 155
recall Lucius Flavius to give evidence again, in view of the fact that—by a wise innovation according to your advocates, but (as everyone knows) really because of your sense of guilt and the conviction carried by my witnesses—you cross-examined nobody in the first part of this trial. Let Flavius, if you will, be cross-examined, and asked who that Lucius Herennius was whom he described as a banker of Leptis, and who, in spite of finding over a hundred Roman citizens in the Syracusan community not only to identify him but to appeal to you on his behalf with tears in their eyes, was nevertheless beheaded in the sight of all Syracuse. I should really like you to prove this second witness of mine a liar, and demonstrate to the

Sertorianum fuisse abs te demonstari et probari volo.

156 LX. Quid de illa multitudine dicemus eorum qui capitibus involutis in piratarum captivorum numero producebantur ut securi ferirentur? Quae ista nova diligentia, quam ob causam abs te excogitata? an te L. Flavii ceterorumque de L. Herennio vociferatio commovebat? an M. Annii, gravissimi atque honestissimi viri, summa auctoritas paulo diligentiorem timidioremque fecerat? qui nuper pro testimonio non advenam nescio quem nec alienum, sed eum civem Romanum qui omnibus in illo conventu notus, qui Syracusis natus esset, abs te securi percussum
157 esse dixit. Post hanc illorum vociferationem, post hanc communem famam atque querimoniam, non mitior in supplicio sed diligentior esse coepit; capitibus involutis cives Romanos ad necem producere instituit; quos tamen idcirco necabat palam, quod homines in conventu, id quod antea dixi, nimium diligenter praedonum numerum requirebant. Haecine plebi Romanae te praetore est constituta condicio, haec negotii gerendi spes, hoc capitis vitaeque discrimen? Parumne multa mercatoribus sunt necessario pericula subeunda fortunae, nisi etiam hae formidines ab nostris magistratibus atque in nostris

satisfaction of this Court that Herennius had been a Sertorian.

LX. What shall be said of those who were led forth 156
in large numbers to be executed, among the captured pirates, with their heads covered?—What is the meaning of this novel precaution of yours, and what made you devise it? Can it be that you were shaken by the cries of distress that your treatment of Herennius drew from Flavius and the others? Or was it the deep respect felt for the strong character and high standing of Marcus Annius that made you a little less careless and reckless than usual? I mean the Annius who a day or two ago testified on oath that a man who was no casual foreigner just come from abroad, but a Roman citizen born at Syracuse and known to all the Roman citizens in Syracuse, was beheaded by your orders.—After those men's outcry, 157
after that outrage had become known to and resented by everyone, Verres proceeded to execute his victims not indeed less brutally than before, but more cautiously; he took to having his Roman citizens led forth to die with their heads covered, while having them nevertheless put to death in public because the people in that district, as I have already told you, were making an inconveniently careful estimate of the number of pirates missing.—Was this the treatment decreed for honest Romans, when you were governor of Sicily? was this the prospect that their occupation afforded them? was this all the respect in which their rights and their lives were held? Are the perils and accidents that all traders must inevitably face so sadly few that such further terrors as these must threaten them, in Roman provinces and at the hands of Roman governors?—

provinciis impendebunt? Ad eamne rem fuit haec suburbana ac fidelis Sicilia, plena optimorum sociorum honestissimorumque civium, quae cives Romanos omnes suis ipsa sedibus libentissime semper accepit, ut, qui usque ex ultima Syria atque Aegypto navigarent, qui apud barbaros propter togae nomen in honore aliquo fuissent, qui ex praedonum insidiis, qui ex tempestatum periculis profugissent, in Sicilia securi ferirentur, cum se iam domum venisse arbitrarentur?

158 LXI. Nam quid ego de P. Gavio, Consano municipe, dicam, iudices, aut qua vi vocis, qua gravitate verborum, quo dolore animi dicam? tametsi dolor me non deficit; ut cetera mihi in dicendo digna re, digna dolore meo suppetant magis laborandum est. Quod crimen eius modi est ut cum primum ad me delatum est usurum me illo non putarem; tametsi enim verissimum esse intellegebam, tamen credibile fore non arbitrabar. Coactus lacrimis omnium civium Romanorum qui in Sicilia negotiantur, adductus Valentinorum, hominum honestissimorum, omniumque Reginorum testimoniis multorumque equitum Romanorum qui casu tum Messanae fuerunt, dedi tantum priore actione testium res ut nemini dubia esse posset.

159 Quid nunc agam? Cum iam tot horas de uno genere

[a] The name and position of this Italian *municipium* are doubtful: Long argues for Cossa in Etruria rather than Compsa further south, but not convincingly.

[b] Vibo was also known as Valentia.

To what end has Sicily been our near neighbour and loyal dependency, the home of our faithful allies and our honoured countrymen? to what end has she always gladly welcomed every citizen of Rome who would dwell within her borders? Has it been only for this, that men who were sailing back from the furthest coasts of Syria and Egypt, whose Roman dress had procured them no small measure of honour even among barbarous peoples, who had escaped the clutches of lurking pirates and the perils of storm and tempest, should fall slain by the headsman's axe in Sicily when they felt themselves already safe at home?

LXI. And now, gentlemen, I am to speak of 158
Publius Gavius, burgess of Consa [a]; and with what strength of voice, what weight of eloquence, what sorrow of heart must my words be spoken! Nay, of sorrow, indeed, my heart has no lack; rather it is voice and eloquence wherewith I must strive to equip myself in a measure befitting my theme and the sorrow that I feel. Such is the charge I now bring that when I was first told of the facts I could not see myself making use of them; aware though I was of their complete truth, I could not imagine that they would be believed. Constrained by the tearful entreaties of all the Roman citizens who are business men in Sicily, and encouraged by the testimony of the worthy inhabitants of Vibo [b] and by that of the whole population of Regium, and by that of a number of Roman knights who as it happened were at the time in Messana, in the first part of this trial I called no more witnesses than might suffice to convince everyone of the facts. What am I to do now? 159
Hour after hour I have been handling the single topic

ac de istius nefaria crudelitate dicam, cum prope omnem vim verborum eius modi quae scelere istius digna sint aliis in rebus consumpserim, neque hoc providerim, ut varietate criminum vos attentos tenerem, quem ad modum de tanta re dicam? Opinor, unus modus atque una ratio est: rem in medio ponam; quae tantum habet ipsa gravitatis ut neque mea, quae nulla est, neque cuiusquam ad inflammandos vestros animos eloquentia requiratur.

160 Gavius hic quem dico Consanus, cum in illo numero civium Romanorum ab isto in vincla coniectus esset et nescio qua ratione clam e lautumiis profugisset Messanamque venisset, qui tam prope iam Italiam et moenia Reginorum, civium Romanorum, videret, et ex illo metu mortis ac tenebris quasi luce libertatis et odore aliquo legum recreatus revixisset, loqui Messanae et queri coepit se civem Romanum in vincla coniectum, sibi recta iter esse Romam, Verri se praesto advenienti futurum. LXII. Non intellegebat miser nihil interesse utrum haec Messanae an apud istum in praetorio loqueretur; nam, ut antea vos docui, hanc sibi iste urbem delegerat quam haberet adiutricem scelerum, furtorum receptricem, flagitiorum omnium consciam. Itaque ad magistratum Mamertinum statim deducitur Gavius, eoque ipso die casu Messanam Verres venit. Res ad eum defertur, esse civem Romanum qui se Syracusis in lautumiis

of Verres' abominable cruelty. In speaking of other instances of that cruelty, I have almost wholly exhausted the resources of such language as befits his wickedness, and have not taken steps to keep your attention awake by varying the nature of my charges. And how, therefore, shall I deal with this terrible affair? There is, I think, but one course, one method possible. I will put the bare facts before you. They speak so forcibly for themselves that there is no need of eloquence, from my own feeble lips or from the lips of anyone else, to kindle your indignation.

The man of whom I speak, Gavius of Consa, was 160 one of those Roman citizens whom Verres threw into prison. Somehow or other he escaped from the Stone Quarries, and made his way to Messana. Italy was now visible only a few miles away, and the walls of Regium with its population of Roman citizens; he had come forth from the awful shadow of death, revived and strengthened by the light of freedom and the fresh air of justice; and so he began to talk indignantly to people in Messana of how he, a Roman citizen, had been thrown into prison, and how he was going straight to Rome and would be ready for Verres on his arrival there. LXII. The poor fellow was not aware that to say such things in Messana was equivalent to saying them to the governor in his own house; for Verres, as I have already explained, had chosen this town to assist him in his crimes, to receive his stolen goods, and to share the secret of all his abominable deeds. The result was that Gavius was at once seized and taken before the chief magistrate of Messana. Verres chanced to arrive there that same day, and it was reported to him that there was a Roman citizen with an angry story about having

fuisse quereretur; quem iam ingredientem in navem et Verri nimis atrociter minitantem ab se retractum esse et asservatum, ut ipse in eum statueret quod
161 videretur. Agit hominibus gratias, et eorum benivolentiam erga se diligentiamque collaudat. Ipse inflammatus scelere et furore in forum venit; ardebant oculi, toto ex ore crudelitas eminebat. Exspectabant omnes quo tandem progressurus aut quidnam acturus esset, cum repente hominem proripi atque in foro medio nudari ac deligari et virgas expediri iubet. Clamabat ille miser se civem esse Romanum, municipem Consanum; meruisse cum L. Raecio, splendidissimo equite Romano, qui Panhormi negotiaretur, ex quo haec Verres scire posset. Tum iste, se comperisse eum speculandi causa in Siciliam a ducibus fugitivorum esse missum; cuius rei neque index neque vestigium aliquod neque suspicio cuiquam esset ulla; deinde iubet undique hominem
162 vehementissime verberari. Caedebatur virgis in medio foro Messanae civis Romanus, iudices, cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum audiebatur nisi haec, "Civis Romanus sum." Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum cruciatumque a corpore deiecturum arbitrabatur; is non modo hoc non perfecit, ut virgarum vim deprecaretur, sed, cum

been in the Stone Quarries at Syracuse, who was already going aboard a ship, uttering unpleasantly savage threats against Verres, when they had dragged him ashore again and kept him in custody for Verres to deal with as he thought best. Verres thanked 161
these people, commending warmly their kind and careful attention to his interests. Then he made for the market-place, on fire with mad and wicked rage, his eyes blazing, and cruelty showing clearly in every feature of his face. Everyone was wondering how far he would go and what he was meaning to do, when he suddenly ordered the man to be flung down, stripped naked and tied up in the open market-place, and rods to be got ready. The unhappy man cried out that he was a Roman citizen, a burgess of Consa; that he had served in the army under the distinguished Roman knight Lucius Raecius, who was in business at Panhormus and could assure Verres of the truth of his story. To this Verres replied that he had discovered that Gavius had been sent to Sicily as a spy by the leaders of the fugitive army, a charge which was brought by no informer, for which there was no evidence, and which nobody saw any reason to believe. He then ordered the man to be flogged severely all over his body. There in the open market- 162
place of Messana a Roman citizen, gentlemen, was beaten with rods; and all the while, amid the crack of the falling blows, no groan was heard from the unhappy man, no words came from his lips in his agony except "I am a Roman citizen." By thus proclaiming his citizenship he had been hoping to avert all those blows and shield his body from torture; yet not only did he fail to secure escape from those cruel rods, but when he persisted in his entreaties and

imploraret saepius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam, infelici et aerumnoso, qui numquam istam pestem viderat, comparabatur.

163 LXIII. O nomen dulce libertatis! o ius eximium nostrae civitatis! o lex Porcia legesque Semproniae! o graviter desiderata et aliquando reddita plebi Romanae tribunicia potestas! Hucine tandem haec omnia reciderunt, ut civis Romanus in provincia populi Romani, in oppido foederatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi Romani fasces et secures haberet deligatus in foro virgis caederetur? Quid? cum ignes ardentesque laminae ceterique cruciatus admovebantur, si te illius acerba imploratio et vox miserabilis non inhibebat, ne civium quidem Romanorum qui tum aderant fletu et gemitu maximo commovebare? In crucem tu agere ausus es quemquam qui se civem Romanum esse diceret? Nolui tam vehementer agere hoc prima actione, iudices, nolui; vidistis enim ut animi multitudinis in istum dolore et odio et communis periculi metu concitarentur. Statui egomet mihi tum modum orationi meae et C. Numitorio, equiti Romano, primo homini, testi meo, et Glabrionem id quod sapientissime fecit facere laetatus sum, ut repente consilium in medio testimonio dimitteret. Etenim verebatur ne populus Romanus ab isto eas poenas vi repetisse

[a] The exact nature of these laws is doubtful: there is reason to think that they secured to a Roman citizen everywhere the immunities from flogging and execution he had always, under the republic, enjoyed in Rome itself.

[b] The symbol of *imperium* is mentioned with indignant reference to the misuse of the rods against Gavius.

his appeals to his citizen rights, a cross was made ready—yes, a cross, for that hapless and broken sufferer, who had never seen such an accursed thing till then

LXIII. Does freedom, that precious thing, mean 163
nothing? nor the proud privileges of a citizen of Rome? nor the law of Porcius, the laws of Sempronius[a]? nor the tribunes' power, whose loss our people felt so deeply till now at last it has been restored to them? Have all these things come in the end to mean so little that in a Roman province, in a town whose people have special privileges, a Roman citizen could be bound and flogged in the marketplace by a man who owed his rods and axes[b] to the favour of the Roman people? When the fire and hot metal plates and the like were brought to torture him, even if his agonized entreaties, his pitiful cries could not stay your hand, was your soul untouched even by the tears and the loud groans of the Roman citizens who then stood by? You dared to crucify any living man who claimed to be a Roman citizen?—Gentlemen, in the earlier part of this trial I refrained from speaking of this matter with my present vehemence; and I did so because, as you could see, the minds of the audience were being strongly excited against Verres by feelings of distress, of hatred, of fear for the general safety. I deliberately kept within bounds, on that occasion, both my own utterances and the evidence of Gaius Numitorius, the eminent Roman knight whom I called as a witness; and I was glad that Glabrio did what it was very wise for him to do—abruptly adjourn the sitting while the witness was still speaking; the truth being that he was afraid that men might see the people of Rome forcibly

videretur quas veritus esset ne iste legibus ac vestro
164 iudicio non esset persoluturus. Nunc, quoniam iam exploratum est omnibus quo loco causa tua sit, et quid de te futurum sit, sic tecum agam. Gavium istum, quem repentinum speculatorem fuisse dicis, ostendam in lautumias Syracusis a te esse coniectum, neque id solum ex litteris ostendam Syracusanorum, ne possis dicere me, quia sit aliquis in litteris Gavius, hoc fingere et eligere nomen ut hunc illum esse possim dicere, sed ad arbitrium tuum testes dabo qui istum ipsum Syracusis abs te in lautumias coniectum esse dicant. Producam etiam Consanos, municipes illius ac necessarios, qui te nunc sero doceant, iudices non sero, illum P. Gavium quem tu in crucem egisti civem Romanum et municipem Consanum, non speculatorem fugitivorum fuisse.

165 LXIV. Cum haec omnia, quae polliceor, cumulate tuis proximis plana fecero, tum istuc ipsum tenebo quod abs te mihi datur, eo contentum me esse dicam. Quid enim nuper tu ipse, cum populi Romani clamore atque impetu perturbatus exsiluisti, quid, inquam, elocutus es? Illum, quod moram supplicio quaereret, ideo clamitasse se esse civem Romanum, sed speculatorem fuisse. Iam mei testes veri sunt. Quid enim dicit aliud C. Numitorius, quid M. et P. Cottii, nobilis-

[a] *Repentinum* really applies to *dicis* (graphic present for *dixisti*). *Fuisse*, not *esse*, because his arrest had stopped his spying.

inflicting upon Verres the retribution which it feared he would escape at the hands of the law and of yourselves as his judges.—But since it has now been 164
made quite plain to everyone, Verres, how your case is going and what the result for you will be, I will deal thus with you. You declare all of a sudden that Gavius had been a spy.[a] Well, I will prove that you had thrown him into prison in the Stone Quarries at Syracuse. And I will not prove this merely by quoting the Syracusan prison records: you shall not be able to say that I found the name Gavius in those records, and then selected it so as to be able to make a fictitious identification of this Gavius with the other. No, I will call witnesses, out of whom you shall make your choice, to testify that this man and no other was thrown into the Quarries at Syracuse by you. I will also put forward fellow-townsmen and intimate friends of his from Consa, who will show you and your judges, too late for you but not for them, that the Publius Gavius whom you crucified was a Roman citizen and a burgess of Consa, and not a spy from the ranks of the fugitives.

LXIV. Now when I have given your friends and 165
supporters ample proof of all these facts that I undertake to prove, I intend to lay hold of the very point which you yourself concede me, and proclaim myself content with that. What did you say yourself the other day, when you leapt up terrified by the shouts and angry gestures of your countrymen—what did you tell us plainly then? That the man kept calling out that he was a Roman citizen simply in order to delay his execution, but was in fact a mere spy. Very well then, my witnesses are telling the truth. It is precisely this that we are told by Gaius Numitorius,

simi homines ex agro Tauromenitano, quid Q. Lucceius, qui argentariam Regi maximam fecit, quid ceteri? Adhuc enim testes ex eo genere a me sunt dati, non qui novisse Gavium, sed se vidisse dicerent, cum is, qui se civem Romanum esse clamaret, in crucem ageretur. Hoc tu, Verres, idem dicis, hoc tu confiteris, illum clamitasse se civem esse Romanum; apud te nomen civitatis ne tantum quidem valuisse ut dubitationem aliquam, ut crudelissimi taeterrimique supplicii aliquam parvam moram saltem posset afferre.
166 Hoc teneo, hic haereo, iudices, hoc sum contentus uno, omitto ac neglego cetera; sua confessione induatur ac iuguletur necesse est. Qui esset ignorabas, speculatorem esse suspicabare; non quaero qua suspicione, tua te accuso oratione. Civem Romanum se esse dicebat. Si tu apud Persas aut in extrema India deprensus, Verres, ad supplicium ducerere, quid aliud clamitares nisi te civem esse Romanum? et si tibi ignoto apud ignotos, apud barbaros, apud homines in extremis atque ultimis gentibus positos, nobile et illustre apud omnes nomen civitatis tuae profuisset, ille, quisquis erat, quem tu in crucem rapiebas, qui tibi esset ignotus, cum civem se Romanum esse di-

by those two well-known gentlemen Marcus and Publius Cottius who come from the Tauromenium district, by Quintus Lucceius who has been an important banker in Regium, and by all the rest. For until now the witnesses I have called have been chosen not from among those who were to state that they knew Gavius personally, but from those who were to state that they saw him when he was being dragged off to be crucified in spite of his proclaiming himself a Roman citizen. This is exactly what you, Verres, say, this is what you admit, that he kept proclaiming himself a Roman citizen, that this mention of his citizenship had not even so much effect upon you as to produce a little hesitation, or to delay, even for a little, the infliction of that cruel and disgusting penalty.—Of this admis- 166
sion, gentlemen, I lay hold, I stand by this, I am content with this one thing, all the rest may pass unheeded: his own admission must inevitably ensnare him and put the knife to his throat.—You did not know who he was, you had reasons for believing him a spy? I do not ask you what those reasons were. Out of your own mouth I accuse you: the man claimed to be a Roman citizen. If you, Verres, had been made prisoner in Persia or the remotest part of India, and were being dragged off to execution, what cry would you be uttering, save that you were a Roman citizen? You, a stranger among strangers, among savages, among a people inhabiting the farthest and remotest regions of the earth, would have been well served by your claim to that citizenship whose glory is known throughout the world: what, then, of this man whom you were hurrying to execution? whoever he was, he was unknown to you, and he declared himself a Roman citizen: could not

ceret, apud te praetorem, si non effugium, ne moram quidem mortis mentione atque usurpatione civitatis
167 assequi potuit? LXV. Homines tenues, obscuro loco nati, navigant, adeunt ad ea loca quae numquam antea viderunt, ubi neque noti esse iis quo venerunt, neque semper cum cognitoribus esse possunt. Hac una tamen fiducia civitatis non modo apud nostros magistratus, qui et legum et existimationis periculo continentur, neque apud cives solum Romanos, qui et sermonis et iuris et multarum rerum societate iuncti sunt, fore se tutos arbitrantur, sed quocumque vene-
168 rint hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futuram. Tolle hanc spem, tolle hoc praesidium civibus Romanis, constitue nihil esse opis in hac voce "Civis Romanus sum," posse impune praetorem aut alium quempiam[1] supplicium quod velit in eum constituere qui se civem Romanum esse dicat, quod qui sit ignoret: iam omnes provincias, iam omnia regna, iam omnes liberas civitates, iam omnem orbem terrarum, qui semper nostris hominibus maxime patuit, civibus Romanis ista defensione praecluseris. Quid? si L. Raecium, equitem Romanum, qui tum in Sicilia erat, nominabat, etiamne id magnum fuit, Panhormum litteras mittere? Asservasses hominem custodiis Mamertinorum tuorum, vinctum clausum habuisses, dum Panhormo Raecius veniret; cognosceret hominem, aliquid de

[1] quempiam *has better* MS. *support than* quemlibet.

that statement, that claim of citizenship, secure from you on your judgement-seat if not remission yet at least postponement of the sentence of death?
LXV. Poor men of humble birth sail across the seas 167
to shores they have never seen before, where they find themselves among strangers, and cannot always have with them acquaintances to vouch for them. Yet such trust have they in the single fact of their citizenship that they count on being safe, not only where they find our magistrates, who are restrained by the fear of law and public opinion, and not only among their own countrymen, to whom they are bound by the ties of a common language and civic rights and much else beside: no, wherever they find themselves, they feel confident that this one fact will be their defence.
Take away this confidence, take away this defence 168
from Roman citizens; lay it down that to cry "I am a Roman citizen" shall help no man at all; make it possible for governors and other persons to inflict upon a man who declares himself a Roman citizen any cruel penalty they choose, on the plea that they do not know who the man is; do this, accept that plea, and forthwith you exclude Roman citizens from all our provinces, from all foreign kingdoms and republics, from every region of that great world to which Romans, above all other men, have always had free access until now. And then again, when Gavius named the Roman knight Lucius Raecius, who was in Sicily at the time—might you not at least have written to him at Panhormus? Your Messanian friends would have kept your man in safe custody, you would have had him chained and locked up, till Raecius arrived from Panhormus. Should he identify the man, you would no doubt lessen the

summo supplicio remitteres ; si ignoraret, tum, si ita tibi videretur, hoc iuris in omnes constitueres, ut qui neque tibi notus esset neque cognitorem locupletem daret, quamvis civis Romanus esset, in crucem tolleretur.

169 LXVI. Sed quid ego plura de Gavio? quasi tu Gavio tum fueris infestus, ac non nomini, generi, iuri civium hostis. Non illi, inquam, homini, sed causae communi libertatis inimicus fuisti. Quid enim attinuit, cum Mamertini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in via Pompeia, te iubere in ea parte figere quae ad fretum spectaret, et hoc addere, quod negare nullo modo potes, quod omnibus audientibus dixisti palam, te idcirco illum locum deligere, ut ille, quoniam se civem Romanum esse diceret, ex cruce Italiam cernere ac domum suam prospicere posset? Itaque illa crux sola, iudices, post conditam Messanam illo in loco fixa est. Italiae conspectus ad eam rem ab isto delectus est, ut ille in dolore cruciatuque moriens perangusto fretu divisa servitutis ac libertatis iura cognosceret, Italia autem alumnum suum servitutis extremo summoque supplicio affixum vi-
170 deret. Facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare : quid dicam in

[a] *Parricidium* may here mean "parricide," "unnatural murder." But Long argues plausibly for the meaning "murder." The actions *vincire*, *verberare*, *necare* are spoken of as the action of a *magistrate*. That a magistrate should officially execute a Roman citizen in any manner is, Cicero says, nearly as bad as that one private person should murder another. Cicero does not mean us to think of Roman citizens actually convicted of crime : but even such persons were not normally bound, flogged or executed, so that even applied to them the dictum is not a gross or obvious exaggeration.

extreme severity of the sentence : should he fail to do so, then you would be free to set up this precedent, if you chose, that a man who was not known to yourself, and could not produce some person of substance to vouch for him, might be put to death on the cross, even if he were a Roman citizen.

LXVI. But I need say no more about Gavius. 169
It was not Gavius against whom your hate was then displayed : you declared war upon the whole principle of the rights of the Roman citizen body. You were the enemy, I say again, not of that individual man, but of the common liberties of us all. What else was the meaning of your order to the Messanians, who had followed their regular custom by setting up the cross on the Pompeian Road behind the town, to set it up in the part of the town that looks over the Straits? and why did you add words that you cannot possibly deny having used, words that you said openly in the hearing of all—that you purposely chose this spot to give this man, since he claimed to be a Roman citizen, a view of Italy and a prospect of his home country as he hung on his cross? That is the only cross, gentlemen, ever set up in this spot in all Messana's history ; and you now see why. This place with its view of Italy was deliberately picked out by Verres, that his victim, as he died in pain and agony, might feel how yonder narrow channel marked the frontier between the land of slavery and the land of freedom, and that Italy might see her son, as he hung there, suffer the worst extreme of the tortures inflicted upon slaves. To bind a Roman 170
citizen is a crime, to flog him is an abomination, to slay him is almost an act of murder [a] : to crucify him

crucem tollere? Verbo satis digno tam nefaria res appellari nullo modo potest. Non fuit his omnibus iste contentus; "spectet," inquit, "patriam; in conspectu legum libertatisque moriatur." Non tu hoc loco Gavium, non unum hominem nescio quem, sed communem libertatis et civitatis causam in illum cruciatum et crucem egisti. Iam vero videte hominis audaciam! Nonne eum graviter tulisse arbitramini quod illam civibus Romanis crucem non posset in foro, non in comitio, non in rostris defigere? Quod enim his locis in provincia sua celebritate simillimum, regione proximum potuit, elegit; monumentum sceleris audaciaeque suae voluit esse in conspectu Italiae, vestibulo Siciliae, praetervectione omnium qui ultro citroque navigarent.

171 LXVII. Si haec non ad cives Romanos, non ad aliquos amicos nostrae civitatis, non ad eos qui populi Romani nomen audissent, denique si non ad homines verum ad bestias, aut etiam, ut longius progrediar, si in aliqua desertissima solitudine ad saxa et ad scopulos haec conqueri ac deplorare vellem, tamen omnia muta atque inanima tanta et tam indigna rerum acerbitate commoverentur. Nunc vero cum loquar apud senatores populi Romani, legum et iudiciorum et iuris auctores, timere non debeo ne non unus iste civis Romanus illa cruce dignus, ceteri omnes simili
172 periculo indignissimi iudicentur. Paulo ante, iudices,

is—what? There is no fitting word that can possibly describe so horrible a deed. Not satisfied with all the cruelty I have told you of, "Let him be in sight of his native land," he cries, "let him die with justice and freedom before his eyes." It was not Gavius, not one obscure man, whom you nailed upon that cross of agony: it was the universal principle that Romans are free men.—Nay, do but mark the villain's shamelessness! One can imagine how it vexed him to be unable to set up that cross to crucify us Roman citizens in our Forum, in our place of public assembly and public speech: for he picked out the corner of his province that should be most like Rome in its populousness, and nearest to Rome in its position; he would have this memorial of his abandoned wickedness stand in sight of Italy, at the entrance-gate of Sicily, in a place where all who came or went that way by sea must pass close by it.

LXVII. If I were not speaking to Roman citizens; 171
not to men who are our country's friends; not to those who have heard of the name and fame of Rome; not even to human beings, but to brute beasts; nay, to go even further, if I were minded to tell this tale of suffering and wrong to the stones and rocks of some lonely desert waste, cruelty and injustice so awful as this would rouse sympathy even in the world of mute and lifeless things. And since those whom I am in fact addressing are senators of Rome, main pillars of our laws and our law-courts and our civic rights, I may rest assured that Verres will be pronounced the one Roman citizen for whom that cross would be a fitting punishment, and no others deserving, even in the smallest degree, of being
treated thus. A little while ago, gentlemen, the 172

lacrimas in morte misera atque indigna nauarchorum non tenebamus, et recte ac merito sociorum innocentium miseria commovebamur: quid nunc in nostro sanguine tandem facere debemus? Nam civium Romanorum omnium sanguis coniunctus existimandus est, quoniam et salutis omnium ratio et veritas postulat. Omnes hoc loco cives Romani, et qui adsunt et qui ubique sunt, vestram severitatem desiderant, vestram fidem implorant, vestrum auxilium requirunt; omnia sua iura, commoda, auxilia, totam denique libertatem, in vestris sententiis versari arbitrantur.

173 A me tametsi satis habent, tamen, si res aliter acciderit, plus habebunt fortasse quam postulant. Nam si qua vis istum de vestra severitate eripuerit, id quod neque metuo, iudices, neque ullo modo fieri posse video, sed si in hoc me ratio fefellerit, Siculi causam suam perisse querentur et mecum pariter moleste ferent, populus quidem Romanus brevi, quoniam mihi potestatem apud se agendi dedit, ius suum me agente suis suffragiis ante Kalendas Februarias recuperabit. Ac si de mea gloria atque amplitudine quaeritis, iudices, non est alienum meis rationibus istum mihi ex hoc iudicio ereptum ad illud populi Romani iudicium reservari. Splendida est illa causa, probabilis mihi et facilis, populo grata atque iucunda;

pitiful fate of those innocent ship's captains was bringing the tears into our eyes. It was right and proper for us to be affected thus deeply by the anguish of our guiltless allies: how must we be affected now, when we hear of the anguish of our own kinsman? I say our kinsman, for we must recognize blood-kinship between all Roman citizens; truth, not less than concern for the general safety, bids us do so. And now in this place all the citizens of Rome, all those who are here and all who are elsewhere, are looking to you to do strict justice, appealing to your honour, imploring your help. They believe that their every right and interest and advantage, yes, that the whole of their liberty, depends on the verdict that you are to give. From myself they ask nothing 173
further; none the less, if that befalls which should not, it may be that they will have from me more than they are asking now. If some act of violence tears yonder man from the stern grasp of your justice—I do not fear this, gentlemen, nor look upon it as in any way possible—if, however, I find myself mistaken, the Sicilians indeed will be indignant that their case has suffered defeat, and will feel the distress that I myself shall feel; but the Roman people, having given me the power of submitting cases to its jurisdiction, will very soon—before January is over—recover its rights, and will give its own verdict on an issue that I shall lay before it. So far as concerns the enlargement of my own reputation, gentlemen, it suits my interests well enough that Verres should be torn from my grasp in this present trial, and reserved for trial then before the people of Rome. That will be a celebrated case indeed, providing certain and easy success for myself, satisfaction and pleasure for the

denique si videor hic, id quod ego non quaesivi, de uno isto voluisse crescere, isto absoluto, quod sine multorum scelere fieri non potest, de multis mihi crescere licebit.

LXVIII. Sed mehercule vestra reique publicae causa, iudices, nolo in hoc delecto consilio tantum flagitii esse commissum, nolo eos iudices quos ego probarim atque delegerim, sic in hac urbe notatos isto absoluto ambulare ut non cera sed caeno obliti
174 esse videantur. Quam ob rem te quoque, Hortensi, si qui monendi locus ex hoc loco est, moneo, videas etiam atque etiam et consideres quid agas, quo progrediare, quem hominem et qua ratione defendas. Neque de illo tibi quicquam praefinio quo minus ingenio mecum atque omni dicendi facultate contendas; cetera si qua putas te occultius extra iudicium quae ad iudicium pertineant facere posse, si quid artificio, consilio, potentia, gratia, copiis istius moliri cogitas, magno opere censeo desistas, et illa quae temptata iam et coepta sunt ab isto, a me autem pervestigata et cognita, moneo ut exstinguas et longius progredi ne sinas. Magno tuo periculo peccabitur in

[a] By exercising his right of challenging a certain number of the judges.

[b] An obscure reference to the scandal of the coloured wax voting-tablets mentioned in *Actio prima*, § 40.

people. And if it is supposed that I have been hoping—though I have sought nothing of the kind—to advance myself at the expense of this one man Verres, then his acquittal, which can only occur if a great many men have acted like criminals, will indeed enable me to advance myself at the expense of those many.

LXVIII. But the truth is, gentlemen, that for your sake, and for the sake of our country, I would not have so grave an offence committed by a body of men so carefully chosen as yourselves; I would not have the members of this Court, whom I have myself selected [a] and approved, going about in our city so defiled with the infamy of acquitting Verres that they might seem smeared not with wax [b] but with mud.—And there- 174
fore I would offer some advice to you too, Hortensius, if the place where I stand is a place for offering advice. I would bid you look carefully and consider what you are doing and where it will lead you, the kind of man you are defending and the methods by which you are defending him. It is not that I would limit your freedom to use your ability and employ all the resources of your eloquence against me. But if, apart from this, you believe that, by what you do secretly outside the walls of this court of law, you can influence what is to take place within those walls, if you think to pervert the course of justice in any way by the help of artifice or ingenuity or power or favouritism or Verres' money, then I counsel you earnestly to forgo your purpose; and as for the attempts at corruption which Verres has already set going, and which I have tracked down and discovered, I advise you to crush them and let them go no further. Misconduct in this trial will be very dangerous to yourself, more

175 hoc iudicio, maiore quam putas. Quod enim te liberatum iam existimationis metu, defunctum honoribus designatum consulem cogites, mihi crede, ornamenta ista et beneficia populi Romani non minore negotio retinentur quam comparantur. Tulit haec civitas quoad potuit, quoad necesse fuit, regiam istam vestram dominationem in iudiciis et in omni re publica, tulit; sed quo die populo Romano tribuni plebi restituti sunt omnia ista vobis, si forte nondum intellegitis, adempta atque erepta sunt. Omnium nunc oculi coniecti sunt hoc ipso tempore in unum quemque nostrum, qua fide ego accusem, qua religione hi iudi-
176 cent, qua tu ratione defendas. De omnibus nobis, si qui tantulum de recta regione deflexerit, non illa tacita existimatio quam antea contemnere solebatis, sed vehemens ac liberum populi Romani iudicium consequetur. Nulla tibi, Quinte, cum isto cognatio, nulla necessitudo; quibus excusationibus antea nimium in aliquo iudicio studium tuum defendere solebas, earum habere in hoc homine nullam potes. Quae iste in provincia palam dictitabat, cum ea quae faciebat tua se fiducia facere dicebat, ea ne vera putentur
177 tibi maxime est providendum. LXIX. Ego mei rationem iam officii confido esse omnibus iniquissimis

[a] The senatorial aristocracy made supreme by Sulla.

[b] The effect of this use of the first name of Hortensius is almost that of "Look here, old fellow."

dangerous than you suppose. Because you are consul 175
elect and have held all the other offices of state, you may think yourself absolved from anxiety for your reputation; but believe me, it is as hard a matter to keep as it was to gain these honours that the Roman people has graciously bestowed upon you. The country endured the despotic control by you and your friends[a] of the law-courts and of public affairs generally, so long as it was possible and necessary to endure it; but on the day on which the tribunes of the plebs were given back to the Roman nation, all this power, though you may not yet be aware of the fact, was at one blow taken away from you. At this very moment, the eyes of all men are turned upon each one of us here, to see how honestly I prosecute, how scrupulous a verdict these gentlemen return, and by what methods you conduct the defence. Let any one of us all 176
turn aside from the straight path, be it never so little, and the result will not be the silent disapproval that you and your friends have been accustomed to ignore, but vehement and outspoken condemnation at the hands of the Roman people. Quintus,[b] this man is not your kinsman, he is not your personal friend; of the pleas by which you have often in the past, in one trial or another, excused your lack of impartiality, none are at your disposal in your defence of Verres. When he was governing his province he used to say, openly and frequently, that he was doing what he was doing because he had confidence in you; and unless you are very careful, it will be thought that he had good reason for saying so. LXIX. So far as my own duty 177
goes, I feel sure that my worst detractors will grant

meis persolutam; nam istum paucis horis primae actionis omnium mortalium sententiis condemnavi. Reliquum iudicium iam non de mea fide, quae perspecta est, nec de istius vita, quae damnata est, sed de iudicibus et, vere ut dicam, de te futurum est.

At quo tempore futurum est? nam id maxime providendum est; etenim cum omnibus in rebus, tum in re publica permagni momenti est ratio atque inclinatio temporum. Nempe eo cum populus Romanus aliud genus hominum atque alium ordinem ad res iudicandas requirit, nempe lege de iudiciis iudicibusque novis promulgata; quam non is promulgavit quo nomine proscriptam videtis, sed hic reus, hic, inquam, sua spe atque opinione quam de vobis habet, legem
178 illam scribendam promulgandamque curavit. Itaque cum primo agere coepimus lex non erat promulgata; cum iste vestra severitate permotus multa signa dederat quam ob rem responsurus non videretur, mentio de lege nulla fiebat; posteaquam iste recreari et confirmari visus est, lex statim promulgata est. Cui legi cum vestra dignitas vehementer adversetur, istius spes falsa et insignis impudentia maxime suffragatur. Hic si quid erit commissum a quoquam vestrum quod

[a] The praetor Lucius Aurelius Cotta.

that I have already discharged my obligations in full: for in the course of the few hours during which the first part of this trial lasted, I made the whole world pronounce Verres guilty. What still remains on trial? Not my honesty—that has been approved; not Verres' conduct—that has been condemned. It is the members of this Court; and also, to be candid, it is yourself.—

And now, in what circumstances is that trial to take place? this is a point that deserves the most serious thought; for in politics, as in everything else, the position and tendency of affairs at any given time is of great practical importance. It will take place, as you are aware, at a time when the nation is eager to transfer judicial authority to a new type and class of man, and when the text has been published of a bill for reconstituting the courts and their membership. Now the publication of this bill is not really due to the person[a] whose name you see attached to it; it is the work of the man who stands accused before you; it is this man's hopes of your help, this man's estimate of your character, that have caused this bill
to be drafted and published. It had not been pub- 178
lished when this case began; there was no talk of it at the time when Verres, intimidated by your stern demeanour, had told us, by many indications, why he meant to offer no defence; the moment of its publication was immediately after he was observed to have recovered his spirits and confidence. That you are so distinguished a body of men is a strong argument against its becoming law; it is the illusory hopes and extravagant impudence of Verres that secure it most support. Let any member of this Court be guilty of any kind of reprehensible conduct,

reprendatur, aut populus Romanus iudicabit de eo homine quem iam ante iudiciis indignum putarit, aut ii qui propter offensionem iudiciorum de veteribus iudicibus lege nova novi iudices erunt constituti.

179 LXX. Mihi porro, ut ego non dicam, quis omnium mortalium non intellegit quam longe progredi sit necesse? Potero silere, Hortensi, potero dissimulare, cum tantum res publica vulnus acceperit ut expilatae provinciae, vexati socii, di immortales spoliati, cives Romani cruciati et necati impune me actore esse videantur? potero ego hoc onus tantum aut in hoc iudicio deponere aut tacitus sustinere? Non agitanda res erit, non in medium proferenda, non populi Romani fides imploranda, non omnes qui tanto se scelere obstrinxerunt ut aut fidem suam corrumpi paterentur aut iudicium corrumperent in discrimen aut iudicium vocandi?

180 Quaeret aliquis fortasse "Tantumne igitur laborem, tantas inimicitias tot hominum suscepturus es?" Non studio quidem hercule ullo neque voluntate; sed non idem licet mihi quod iis qui nobili genere nati sunt, quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur; longe alia mihi lege in hac civitate et condicione vivendum est. Venit mihi in mentem M. Catonis, hominis sapientissimi et vigilantissimi; qui cum se virtute, non genere, populo

and either the Roman people will try this man whom they have already adjudged unworthy of any trial, or else he will be tried by those new judges, set up by this new law to try the old judges whose conduct of the courts has given so much offence. LXX. As for myself, there is surely 179 no man alive who cannot see, without my telling him, how essential it is for me to go forward with this case.—Can I keep silent, Hortensius, can I feign indifference, when such a blow has been openly struck at the country's heart, when our provinces have been stripped bare, our allies harried and plundered, the gods robbed of their treasures, citizens of Rome tortured and put to death, and the criminal, whom I prosecuted, goes unpunished? It is impossible for me either to lay down such a responsibility as I leave this court or to continue to carry it and yet say nothing. Can I let this thing rest? must I not drag it into the light? must I not appeal to the honour of the Roman nation? must I not make those men who corrupted the judges in our courts, and those judges who suffered their honour to be stained by such corruption, face the peril of prosecution for the horrible wickedness they have committed?

"Do you really mean," I may be asked, "to enter 180 upon so formidable a task, and to procure yourself so many bitter enemies?" Not with any eagerness, to be sure, nor of my own free will. But I have not the same privileges as men of noble birth, who sit still and see the honours our nation bestows laid at their feet; the present conditions of political life oblige me to behave far otherwise. I am reminded of that wise and clear-sighted man Marcus Cato. Believing that

Romano commendari putaret, cum ipse sui generis initium ac nominis ab se gigni et propagari vellet, hominum potentissimorum suscepit inimicitias, et maximis laboribus suis usque ad summam senectutem
181 summa cum gloria vixit. Postea Q. Pompeius, humili atque obscuro loco natus, nonne plurimis inimicitiis maximisque suis periculis ac laboribus amplissimos honores est adeptus? Modo C. Fimbriam, C. Marium, C. Caelium vidimus non mediocribus inimicitiis ac laboribus contendere ut ad istos honores pervenirent ad quos vos per ludum et per neglegentiam pervenistis. Haec eadem est nostrae rationis regio et via, horum nos hominum sectam atque instituta persequimur. LXXI. Videmus quanta sit in invidia quantoque in odio apud quosdam nobiles homines novorum hominum virtus et industria; si tantulum oculos deiecerimus, praesto esse insidias; si ullum locum aperuerimus suspicioni aut crimini, accipiendum statim vulnus esse; semper nobis vigilandum,
182 semper laborandum videmus. Inimicitiae sunt, subeantur; labor, suscipiatur; etenim tacitae magis et occultae inimicitiae timendae sunt quam indictae atque apertae. Hominum nobilium non fere quisquam nostrae industriae favet; nullis nostris officiis benivolentiam illorum allicere possumus; quasi natura et genere diiuncti sint, ita dissident a nobis

[a] Surnamed Rufus; consul in 141 (Long).

his merit, though not his birth, was gaining him his countrymen's approval, and hoping to become the founder and promoter of a famous family of his own, he readily incurred the enmity of powerful persons, and at the price of immense exertions lived to be a very old and a very famous man.
After him Quintus Pompeius,[a] a man of obscure 181
and humble origin, made many enemies, and underwent heavy toils and grave dangers, before he reached the highest position in the state. In more recent times we have seen Fimbria and Marius and Caelius contending with formidable enmities and heavy labours in order to attain the high offices which you, gentlemen, have attained by a life of indolence and indifference. For persons like myself, our lives must be planned to follow the same path and take the same direction; we belong to the school, and copy the methods, of the men I speak of. LXXI. We are aware with what jealousy, with what dislike, the merit and energy of "new men" are regarded by certain of the "nobles"; that we have only to shut our eyes for a moment to find ourselves caught in some trap; that if we leave them the smallest opening for any suspicion or charge of misconduct, we have to suffer for it at once; that we must never relax our vigilance, and never take a holi-
day. We have enemies—let us face them; tasks to 182
perform—let us shoulder them; not forgetting that an open and declared enemy is less formidable than one who hides himself and says nothing. There is hardly one member of the old families who looks kindly on our activity; by no services that we render them can we capture their goodwill; they withhold from us their interest and sympathy as completely

animo ac voluntate. Quare quid habent eorum inimicitiae periculi, quorum animos iam ante habueris inimicos et invidos quam ullas inimicitias susceperis?

183 Quam ob rem mihi, iudices, optatum illud est, in hoc reo finem accusandi facere, cum et populo Romano satis factum et receptum officium Siculis, necessariis meis, erit persolutum; deliberatum autem est, si res opinionem meam quam de vobis habeo fefellerit, non modo eos persequi ad quos maxime culpa corrupti iudicii, sed etiam illos ad quos conscientiae contagio pertinebit. Proinde si qui sunt qui in hoc reo aut potentes aut audaces aut artifices ad corrumpendum iudicium velint esse, ita sint parati ut disceptante populo Romano mecum sibi rem videant futuram; et si me in hoc reo quem mihi inimicum Siculi dederunt satis vehementem, satis perseverantem, satis vigilantem esse cognorunt, existiment in iis hominibus quorum ego inimicitias populi Romani salutis causa suscepero multo graviorem atque acriorem futurum.

184 LXXII. Nunc te, Iuppiter Optime Maxime, cuius iste donum regale, dignum tuo pulcherrimo templo, dignum Capitolio atque ista arce omnium nationum, dignum regio munere, tibi factum ab regibus, tibi

as if we and they were different breeds of men. And for this reason there is little to be feared from the enmity of such people, since you have them regarding you with ill-will and jealousy long before you have done anything to make them your enemies.

It is, then, gentlemen, my earnest hope that, 183 having done what Rome expects of me, and having performed in full what I undertook to do for my Sicilian friends, I shall close my career as a prosecutor with this prosecution of Verres. But, for the reasons I have given, I have made up my mind, should the event falsify my estimate of your character, to bring to justice not only those on whom will rest the chief guilt of having corrupted the members of this Court, but those also who will share that guilt as accomplices. Accordingly let all persons who are minded to employ their power, their unscrupulousness or their ingenuity in corrupting the Court in the present case, add to their readiness a vision of themselves engaged in contest with me before the judgement-seat of the nation; and if they have found me lacking neither in energy nor in tenacity nor in vigilance as prosecutor of the man whose enmity I owe to the people of Sicily, then let them look forward to finding me much fiercer and more formidable still as the prosecutor of men whose enmity I shall deliberately incur in defence of the vital interests of the people of Rome.

LXXII. Hear me now, O almighty and most 184 gracious Father Jove; thou whose royal offering, so worthy of thy glorious temple, of thy Capitoline hill that is the citadel of all the world, so worthy to be the gift of princes, made by those princes for thee and by

dicatum atque promissum, per nefarium scelus de manibus regiis extorsit, cuiusque sanctissimum et pulcherrimum simulacrum Syracusis sustulit; teque, Iuno Regina, cuius duo fana duabus in insulis posita sociorum, Melitae et Sami, sanctissima et antiquissima, simili scelere idem iste omnibus donis ornamentisque nudavit; teque, Minerva, quam item duobus in clarissimis et religiosissimis templis expilavit, Athenis, cum auri grande pondus, Syracusis, cum
185 omnia praeter tectum et parietes abstulit; teque, Latona et Apollo et Diana, quorum iste Deli non fanum, sed, ut hominum opinio et religio fert, sedem antiquam divinumque domicilium nocturno latrocinio atque impetu compilavit; etiam te, Apollo, quem iste Chio sustulit; teque etiam atque etiam, Diana, quam Pergae spoliavit, cuius simulacrum sanctissimum Segestae, bis apud Segestanos consecratum, semel ipsorum religione, iterum P. Africani victoria, tollendum asportandumque curavit; teque, Mercuri, quem Verres in domo et in privata aliqua palaestra posuit, P. Africanus in urbe sociorum et in gymnasio Tyndaritanorum iuventutis illorum custodem ac prae-
186 sidem voluit esse; teque, Hercules, quem iste Agri-

them promised and dedicated to thee, Verres with sacrilegious wickedness plucked from those princes' hands; thou whose sacred and beautiful image he carried away from Syracuse:

hear me, Juno Queen of Heaven; thou whose two sacred and ancient shrines, built by our allies in their two islands of Melita and Samos, this same Verres with an equal wickedness stripped of all their offerings and adornments:

hear me, Minerva; thou against whom likewise he has sinned doubly in plundering two famous and holy temples, thy temple at Athens of that great mass of gold, thy temple at Syracuse of everything save its roof and walls:

hear me, Latona and Apollo and Diana; ye whose 185
shrine at Delos—nay, as religious men believe, whose home, the abode of your godhead in times past—he broke open with violence by night and robbed of its treasures:

hear me once more, Apollo, whom he carried off from Chios:

hear me, Diana, again and yet again; thou whom he despoiled at Perga; thou whose most sacred image at Segesta, twice consecrated there, first by Segestan piety, and again by Scipio of Africa in his hour of victory, Verres caused to be pulled down and borne away:

hear me, Mercurius; thou whose statue Verres set up in the wrestling-ground of some man's private house, instead of its standing, according to Scipio's purpose, in the gymnasium of our allies the people of Tyndaris, to be the guardian and patron of the youth of their city:

hear me, Hercules; thou whose image at Agri- 186

genti nocte intempesta servorum instructa et comparata manu convellere ex tuis[1] sedibus atque auferre conatus est; teque, sanctissima mater Idaea, quam apud Enguinos augustissimo et religiosissimo in templo sic spoliatam reliquit ut nunc nomen modo Africani et vestigia violatae religionis maneant, monumenta victoriae fanique ornamenta non exstent; vosque, omnium rerum forensium, consiliorum maximorum, legum iudiciorumque arbitri et testes celeberrimo in loco populi Romani locati, Castor et Pollux, quorum e templo quaestum iste sibi et praedam improbissimam comparavit; omnesque di qui vehiculis tensarum sollemnes coetus ludorum invisitis,[2] quorum iter iste ad suum quaestum, non ad religionum
187 dignitatem faciundum exigendumque curavit; teque, Ceres et Libera, quarum sacra, sicut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longe maximis atque occultissimis caerimoniis continentur, a quibus initia vitae atque victus, morum, legum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispertita esse dicuntur, quarum sacra populus Romanus a Graecis adscita et accepta tanta religione et publice et privatim tuetur, non ut ab illis huc allata, sed ut ceteris hinc tradita esse videantur, quae ab isto uno sic polluta ac violata sunt ut simulacrum Cereris

[1] ex tuis *is Madvig's emendation of the* MS. suis, *which Peterson retains.*
[2] invisitis *Peterson,* initis *Mueller: the* MS. *evidence is indecisive.*

gentum, in the dead of night, with the band of slaves that he had prepared and armed, he strove to uproot from its place and carry away:

hear me, holy Mother of Ida; thou whose revered and sacred temple at Engyium he left so utterly despoiled that nothing remains there now save the name of Scipio and the marks of the sacrilege committed, for the memorials of Scipio's victory, the treasures that adorned the shrine, are there no longer:

hear me, Castor and Pollux; ye who have your place at the central heart of populous Rome, who watch and witness all that is done in our Forum, our solemn deliberations, our laws and our courts of law; ye from whose temple Verres got himself gain and plunder of the foulest kind:

hear me, whosoever of the gods are borne in the sacred coaches to behold our festival gatherings at the appointed seasons; for it was to fill his purse, not to uphold the dignity of that solemn rite, that Verres saw to the making and repairing of the way by which ye go:

hear me, Ceres and Libera, the rites of whose 187
worship, as religious men believe and tell us, are beyond all others exalted and mysterious; ye by whom food and nourishment, virtue and law, gentleness and culture, were first given us, they say, and spread abroad among men and nations; ye whose worship the people of Rome, having received and adopted it from the Greeks, performs with such earnestness of both corporate and personal devotion that it seems not brought hither from Greece but sent forth hence to all other peoples; which worship this one man defiled and desecrated, causing the image of

unum, quod a viro non modo tangi sed ne aspici quidem fas fuit, e sacrario Catina convellendum auferendumque curaverit, alterum autem Henna ex sua sede ac domo sustulerit, quod erat tale ut homines, cum viderent, aut ipsam videre se Cererem aut effigiem Cereris non humana manu factam, sed de
188 caelo lapsam arbitrarentur—vos etiam atque etiam imploro et appello, sanctissimae deae, quae illos Hennenses lacus lucosque incolitis, cunctaeque Siciliae, quae mihi defendenda tradita est, praesidetis, a quibus inventis frugibus et in orbem terrarum distributis omnes gentes ac nationes vestri religione numinis continentur; ceteros item deos deasque omnes imploro et obtestor, quorum templis et religionibus iste nefario quodam furore et audacia instinctus bellum sacrilegum semper impiumque habuit indictum: Ut, si in hoc reo atque in hac causa omnia mea consilia ad salutem sociorum, dignitatem rei publicae, fidem meam spectaverunt, si nullam ad rem nisi ad officium et virtutem omnes meae curae, vigiliae cogitationesque elaborarunt, quae mea mens in suscipienda causa fuit, fides in agenda, eadem vestra sit
189 in iudicanda; deinde uti C. Verrem, si eius omnia sunt inaudita et singularia facinora sceleris, audaciae, perfidiae, libidinis, avaritiae, crudelitatis, dignus

[a] The last part of this paragraph (*vos etiam atque etiam . . . continentur*) looks like a shortened alternative version of what precedes it.

Ceres in Catina, which none but women might touch or even see without sin, to be wrenched from its place in the shrine and carried away, and bearing off that other image of Ceres from its home and dwelling-place at Henna, the image whose appearance was such that those who saw it thought of it either as the goddess herself or as her likeness wrought by no human hand, but fallen from heaven: [a] hear me, I beseech 188
you again, hear me, most holy goddesses, whose home is in the lakes and woods of Henna, and who are patrons of all this land of Sicily whose defence has been entrusted to me; ye whose discovering of corn and sending it forth to all the world has filled all nations and peoples with the fear of your holy godhead: [a]

and all other gods and goddesses likewise, ye against whose sanctuaries and holy worship this insane and immoral scoundrel has openly waged impious and sacrilegious war, hear ye my appeal and prayer:—

If in my prosecution of this man, and my pleading of this case, I have kept a single eye upon the vital interests of our allies, the honour of Rome and the dictates of my conscience; if all my effort and attention and thought have been engaged in striving after the righteous performance of my duty, and in this alone: then may my purpose in undertaking this case, and my integrity in conducting it, equally inspire the members of this Court in pronouncing judgement upon it. And if all the deeds of Gaius Verres are deeds of 189
such shameless wickedness, of such treachery and lustfulness and greed and cruelty, that the like of them has never been seen or heard of in any man before: then may the verdict of this Court bring

exitus eius modi vita atque factis vestro iudicio consequatur, utique res publica meaque fides una hac accusatione mea contenta sit, mihique posthac bonos potius defendere liceat quam improbos accusare necesse sit.

such a doom upon him as befits his life and conduct; may my country and my conscience let me rest content to have been a prosecutor in this one case; and henceforth may I be free for the defence of honest men, and not forced to undertake the prosecution of evil-doers.

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